

JOSEPH STALIN

A SHORT
BIOGRAPHY

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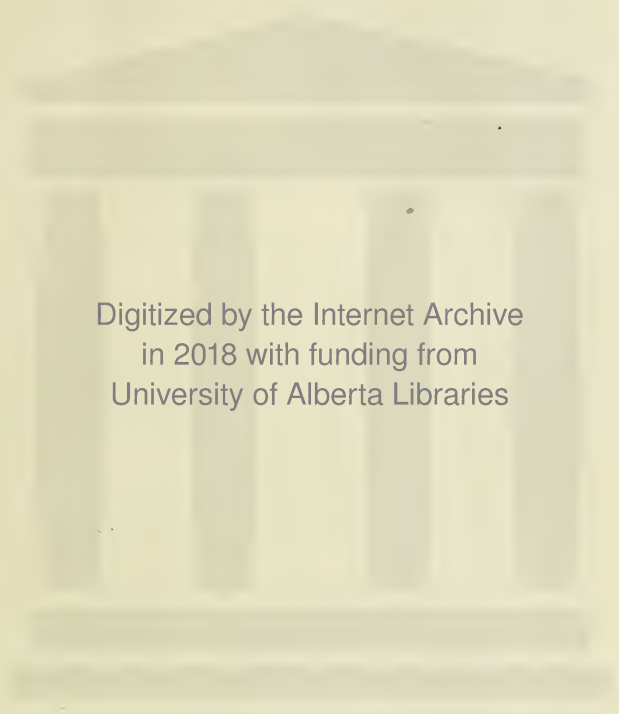
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I

JOSEPH STALIN (DJUGASHVILI) was born on December 21, 1879, in the town of Gori, Province of Tiflis. His father, Vissarion Djugashvili, a Georgian of peasant stock from the village of Didi-Lilo in the same province, was a cobbler by trade, and later a worker at the Adelkhanov Shoe Factory in Tiflis. His mother, Ekaterina Djugashvili (née Geladze), came from a family of former peasant serfs in the village of Gambareuli.

In the autumn of 1888 Stalin was sent to the ecclesiastical school in Gori, from which, in 1894, he passed to the Theological Seminary in Tiflis.

This was a period when, with the development of industrial capitalism and the attendant growth of the working-class movement, Marxism had begun to spread widely through Russia. The St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, founded and led by Lenin, had given a mighty fillip to the Social-Democratic movement all over the country. The tide of the movement swept as far as Transcaucasia, where capitalism had already taken a foothold, and where, moreover, the burden of national and colonial oppression weighed heavily. An economically backward, agrarian country, where survivals of feudalism were still strong, and where numerous nationalities lived intermingled in close confusion, Transcaucasia was a typical tsarist colony. Capitalism had begun to develop rapidly there in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, savagely exploiting the workers and peasants and aggravating the national and colonial yoke. Particularly rapid was the development of the mining and oil industries, the key positions in which had been seized by foreign capital.

"Russian capitalism," wrote Lenin, "was thus drawing the Caucasus into the sphere of world commodity circulation, leveling out its local peculiarities—the remnants of ancient patriar-

chal isolation—and *creating a market* for its own factories. A country which was thinly populated at the beginning of the post-Reform epoch, or populated by mountaineers who lived out of the course of world economy and even out of the course of history, was being transformed into a land of oil operators, wine merchants, wheat growers and tobacco growers..." (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. III.)

The appearance of railways and of the first industrial plants in the Caucasus was accompanied by the growth of a working class. Especially rapid was the development of the oil city of Baku, the chief industrial and working-class centre in the Caucasus.

As industrial capitalism developed, the working-class movement grew. In the 'nineties revolutionary activities in Transcaucasia were carried on by Russian Marxists who had been exiled to that region by the authorities. Soon began the propaganda of Marxism. The Tiflis Seminary at that time seethed with libertarian ideas of every brand, from nationalist Narodism to internationalist Marxism. It was honeycombed with secret societies. The jesuitical regime that governed the seminary aroused in Stalin a burning sense of protest and strengthened his revolutionary sentiments. At the age of fifteen Stalin became a revolutionary.

"I joined the revolutionary movement," said Stalin in an interview he granted in later years to the German writer Emil Ludwig, "at the age of fifteen, when I became connected with certain illegal groups of Russian Marxists in Transcaucasia. These groups exerted a great influence on me and instilled in me a taste for illegal Marxian literature."

In 1896 and 1897, Stalin conducted Marxist study circles in the seminary, and in August 1898 he formally enrolled as a member of the Tiflis branch of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. He joined the first Georgian Social-Democratic organization, known as the Messameh Dassy group, which, in the years 1893-98, performed useful work in the propagation of Marxist ideas. But the Messameh Dassy was not a homogeneous organization politically. The majority of its members shared the views of the "Legal Marxists" and inclined towards bourgeois nationalism. Stalin, together with Ketskhoveli and Tsulukidze, formed the core of a revolutionary Marxist minority in the Messameh Dassy, from which sprang the revolutionary Social-Democratic movement in Georgia.

Stalin worked hard to broaden his knowledge. He studied *Capital*, the *Communist Manifesto* and other works of Marx and Engels. He acquainted himself with Lenin's polemical writings against Narodism, "Legal Marxism" and "Economism." His theoretical interests were extremely broad. He studied philosophy, political economy, history and natural science. He read widely in the classics. He thus trained himself to be an educated Marxist. Even at this early date Lenin's writings made a deep impression on him. "I must meet him at all costs," one of Stalin's friends reports him to have said after reading an article by Tulin (Lenin).

At this period Stalin carried on intense propaganda in workingmen's study circles, attended illegal workers' meetings, wrote leaflets and organized strikes. It was among the militant proletarians of Tiflis that Stalin got his first schooling in practical revolutionary work.

"I recall the year 1898," Stalin says, "when I was first put in charge of a study circle of workers from the railway shops.... It was here, among these comrades, that I received my first revolutionary baptism ... my first teachers were the workers of Tiflis." (*Pravda*, June 16, 1926.)

The seminary authorities, who kept a strict watch on "suspects," began to get wind of Stalin's secret revolutionary activities, and on May 29, 1899, he was expelled from the seminary for Marxist propaganda. For a time he lived by giving lessons; later he found employment at the Tiflis Observatory to watch and read the instruments. But never for a moment did he cease his revolutionary activities.

Stalin had now become one of the most active and prominent members of the Tiflis Social-Democratic movement. "In 1898-1900 a leading, central Social-Democratic group arose and took shape in the Tiflis organization.... This central Social-Democratic group did an enormous amount of revolutionary propagandist and organizational work in forming a secret Social-Democratic Party organization." (L. Beria, *On the History of the Bolshevik Organizations in Transcaucasia*, p. 20.) This group was headed by Stalin. Lenin's League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class was the model on which the revolutionary Social-Democrats of Tiflis faithfully moulded their activities. At this period the labour movement in Tiflis, led by the revolutionary minority of the Messameh Dassý. (Stalin, Ketskho-

veli and Tsulukidze), ceased to confine itself merely to propaganda work among a "few select" workers; political developments were urgently calling for mass agitation by means of leaflets on burning questions of the day, by lightning meetings and political demonstrations against tsardom. These new tactics were strenuously opposed by the opportunist majority of the Messameh Dassy, who had strong leanings towards "Economism," shunned revolutionary methods, and disapproved of the political struggle against the autocracy being waged "on the streets." Led by Stalin, the revolutionary minority of the Messameh Dassy put up a strenuous and implacable fight against the opportunists on behalf of the new tactics, the tactics of mass political agitation. In this they had the hearty support of the militant workers of Tiflis.

A prominent part in inducing the Social-Democrats of Tiflis to adopt the new methods was played by Victor Kurnatovsky, an accomplished Marxist and a staunch supporter and close colleague of Lenin's, who did much to spread the latter's ideas in Transcaucasia. He came to Tiflis in the autumn of 1900, and at once formed close contact with the Messameh Dassy minority, and became an intimate friend and comrade of Stalin's.

When Lenin's *Iskra* began to appear in December 1900, Stalin accorded its policy his wholehearted support. It was at once clear to him that Lenin was to be the creator of a real Marxist Party, a leader and a teacher.

"My knowledge of Lenin's revolutionary activities since the end of the 'nineties, and especially after 1901, after the appearance of *Iskra*," Stalin says, "had convinced me that in Lenin we had a man of extraordinary calibre. I did not regard him as a mere leader of the Party, but as its actual founder, for he alone understood the inner essence and urgent needs of our Party. When I compared him with the other leaders of our Party, it always seemed to me that he was head and shoulders above his colleagues—Plekhanov, Martov, Axelrod and the others; that, compared with them, Lenin was not just one of the leaders, but a leader of the highest rank, a mountain eagle, who knew no fear in the struggle, and who boldly led the Party forward along the unexplored paths of the Russian revolutionary movement." (*Stalin on Lenin*, pp. 35-36.)

Stalin conceived a boundless faith in Lenin's revolutionary genius. He took Lenin's path as his own. From this path he has

never swerved; and when Lenin died, he confidently and courageously carried on his work.

In 1900 and 1901, in the midst of a gathering economic crisis, under the influence of the working-class movement in Russia and as a result of the activities of the Social-Democrats, a series of strikes broke out in Tiflis, spreading from factory to factory. August 1900 witnessed a big strike at the railway shops and locomotive yards, an active part in which was played by M. Kalinin, who had been exiled to the Caucasus from St. Petersburg. In 1901 a May Day demonstration was held in the centre of Tiflis, organized and led by Stalin. This demonstration was hailed by Lenin's *Iskra* as an event of historic importance for the whole of the Caucasus; its influence on the entire subsequent course of the working-class movement in the Caucasus was enormous.

Thus, guided by the revolutionary minority of the Messameh Dassy, headed by Stalin, the working-class movement of Georgia passed from propaganda activities confined to narrow circles to political agitation among the masses; and in the Caucasus too there began that linking up of Socialism with the working-class movement which had been so brilliantly effected several years earlier by the St. Petersburg League of Struggle, under Lenin's leadership.

Alarmed by the growing revolutionary militancy of the Transcaucasian proletariat, the tsarist government resorted to sterner measures of repression than ever, hoping in this way to halt the movement. On the night of March 21, 1901, the police made a search of the observatory where Stalin worked and had his quarters. This search, and the warrant for his arrest which, as he learned, had been issued by the secret police, induced Stalin to go into hiding. From that moment dates his life as a professional revolutionary of the Lenin school, a life full of heroism and unflinching effort, carried on in the underground Russian movement right up to the revolution of February 1917.

The tsarist satraps were powerless to halt the growth of the revolutionary movement. In September 1901, *Brdzola* (*Struggle*), the first illegal Social-Democratic newspaper in Georgia, started publication. Founded on the initiative of Stalin and Ketskhoveli, it consistently advocated the principles of Lenin's *Iskra* and declared implacable war on opportunist ideas of every type. As a Marxist newspaper in Russia, *Brdzola* was second only to *Iskra*.

Leaflets in the languages of the various nationalities of Transcaucasia were also published on a wide scale. "Every district in Tiflis has been inundated with splendidly written leaflets in Russian, Georgian and Armenian," wrote Lenin's *Iskra* on September 15, 1902, in reference to the activities of the Tiflis Social-Democrats. Laddo Ketskhoveli, Stalin's close colleague, kept in constant touch with him and organized a Committee of the Leninist *Iskra* trend in Baku and set up a secret printing plant there. On November 11, 1901, at a conference of the Tiflis Social-Democratic organization, a Tiflis Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. was elected, one of whose members was Stalin. But Stalin did not stay in Tiflis long. At the end of November, on the instructions of the Tiflis Committee, he removed to Batum, the third largest proletarian centre in the Caucasus (Baku and Tiflis being the first and second).

In Batum Stalin at once flung himself into revolutionary work: he established contact with politically-advanced workers, formed study circles, some of which he conducted himself, set up a secret printing plant, wrote, printed and distributed stirring leaflets, directed the struggle of the workers at the Rothschild and Mantashev plants, and organized revolutionary propaganda in the countryside. He formed a Social-Democratic Party organization in Batum and a Batum Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., and led several strikes. He organized and directed the famous political demonstration of the Batum workers on March 9, 1902, himself marching at the head of the columns. This was a practical example of the combination of strikes with political demonstrations.

Thus, in this period, a strong Leninist *Iskra*-ist organization grew up in Transcaucasia, carrying on a determined and implacable struggle against opportunism. Its chief organizer and leader was Stalin, who was already known among the Batum workers as the "workers' teacher." This organization was founded on the sound principles of proletarian internationalism, uniting, as it did, proletarian militants of different nationalities in its ranks—Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians and Russians. In later days, Lenin time and again cited the Transcaucasian Party organization as a model of proletarian internationalism.

The rising militancy of the Batum workers was a cause of serious uneasiness to the government. Police sleuths scoured the city, looking for the "ringleaders." On April 5, 1902, Stalin was arrested. But even while in prison (first in Batum, then in Ku-

tais—a jail notorious for the severity of its regime, to which he was transferred on April 19, 1903—and then back again in Batum), Stalin's contacts with revolutionary activities were not interrupted. It was in prison that he learned from delegates returned from the Second Party Congress of the profound dissension between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. He took his stand without hesitation on the side of Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

At the end of November 1903, Stalin was condemned to exile for three years in Novaya Uda, a village in the Province of Irkutsk, Eastern Siberia. There he received a letter from Lenin.

"I first became acquainted with Lenin in 1903," Stalin subsequently related. "True, it was not a personal acquaintance; it was maintained by correspondence. But it made an indelible impression upon me, one which has never left me throughout all my work in the Party. I was in exile in Siberia at the time. . . . Lenin's note was comparatively short, but it contained a bold and fearless criticism of the practical work of our Party, and a remarkably clear and concise account of the entire plan of work of the Party in the immediate future." (*Stalin on Lenin*, pp. 35-36.)

Stalin did not stay in exile long. He was impatient to be back at liberty, to set to work to carry out Lenin's plan for the building of a Bolshevik Party. On January 5, 1904, he escaped from exile, and in February 1904 he was back again in the Caucasus, first in Batum, and then in Tiflis.

II

Stalin had spent almost two years in prison and exile. During this period the revolutionary movement had made steady progress in the country. The Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. had taken place, at which the victory of Marxism over "Economism" had been consolidated. But those old opportunists, the "Economists," smashed by the Party, were superseded by a new type of opportunists, the Mensheviks. After the Congress Lenin and the Bolsheviks launched a fierce struggle against the Mensheviks, against their opportunist ideas and their attempts to split and disorganize the Party. With the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War and the gathering revolutionary storm, this struggle took on an even more acute form. Lenin considered that only a new congress (the third) could settle the crisis in the Party. To secure the convocation of this congress was now the principal task of all the Bolsheviks.

In the Caucasus, Lenin's faithful lieutenant in this campaign was Stalin, the leader of the Transcaucasian Bolsheviks. During this period he concentrated his energies on the fight against Menshevism. A member of the Caucasian Federal Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., he was the virtual director of its activities. Indefatigable, he periodically toured Transcaucasia, visiting Batum, Chiaturi, Kutais, Tiflis, Baku and the rural districts of Western Georgia, strengthening the old Party organizations and forming new ones, taking an active part in the heated controversies with the Mensheviks and other enemies of Marxism, stoutly upholding the principles of Bolshevism, and exposing the political chicanery and opportunism of the Mensheviks and of those who were prone to compromise with them.

"In December 1904, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, there was a huge strike of the Baku workers, which lasted from December 13 to 31 and ended with the conclusion of a collec-

tive agreement with the oil magnates, the first of its kind in the history of the Russian working-class movement. The Baku strike heralded a rise in the tide of revolution in Transcaucasia. It served as the 'signal for the glorious actions in January and February all over Russia' (Stalin)." (L. Beria, *On the History of the Bolshevik Organizations in Transcaucasia*, p. 19.)

"This strike," says the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)*, "was like a clap of thunder heralding a great revolutionary storm."

Stalin persistently worked for the furtherance of Lenin's guiding principles. He advocated and explained the Bolshevik ideas to the masses, and organized a campaign for the convocation of a Third Congress. Close contact was maintained between Lenin and the Caucasian Federal Committee all through this period. It was Stalin who led the ideological and political fight of the Caucasian Bolsheviks against the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, nationalists and anarchists in the period of the first Russian Revolution. A most effective weapon of the Bolsheviks in this fight was their Party literature; and practically every Bolshevik publication that came out in the Caucasus owed its origin to Stalin's initiative and efforts, thanks to which the production of illegal books, newspapers, pamphlets and leaflets attained dimensions unprecedented in tsarist Russia.

One remarkably bold enterprise of the Caucasian League, and an outstanding example of the Bolshevik technique of underground work, was the Avlabar secret printing press, which functioned in Tiflis from the beginning of 1904 to April 1906. On this press were printed Lenin's *The Revolutionary-Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Peasantry* and *To the Rural Poor*, Stalin's *A Glance at the Disagreements in the Party*, *Two Conflicts* and other pamphlets, the Party program and rules, and scores of leaflets, many of which were written by Stalin. On it, too, were printed the newspapers *Borba Proletariata* and *Listok Borby Proletariata*. Books, pamphlets, newspapers and leaflets were published in three languages and were printed in several thousands of copies.

A most important weapon in the defence of the principles of Bolshevism in the Caucasus and in the propagation and development of Lenin's ideas was the newspaper *Borba Proletariata*, edited by Stalin, the organ of the Caucasian League of the R.S.D.L.P. and a worthy successor of *Brdzola*. For its size and its quality as a Bolshevik newspaper, *Borba Proletariata* was

second only to *Proletary*, the Central Organ of the Party, edited by Lenin. Practically every issue carried articles by Lenin, reprinted from the *Proletary*. Many highly important articles were written by Stalin. In them he stands forth as a talented controversialist, one of the Party's best writers and theoreticians, a political leader of the proletariat, and a faithful follower of Lenin. In his articles and pamphlets, Stalin worked out a number of theoretical and political problems. With unerring instinct, he disclosed the ideological fallacies of the anti-Bolshevik trends and factions, their opportunism and treachery. Every blow at the enemy struck with telling effect. Lenin paid glowing tribute to *Borba Proletariata*, to its Marxian consistency and high literary merit.

Lenin's most appreciative disciple and the most consistent champion of his ideas, Stalin played a predominant part in the ideological discomfiture of Menshevism in the Caucasus, and in the defence of the ideological, organizational and tactical principles of the Marxist party. His writings of that period are a model of consistency in the advocacy of Lenin's views, and are distinguished for their theoretical penetration and uncompromising hostility to opportunism.

His pamphlet *A Glance at the Disagreements in the Party* and his article "Reply to a Social-Democrat" are a vigorous defence of the ideological principles of the Marxist party. *A Glance at the Disagreements in the Party* (written at the beginning of 1905 and published illegally in the summer of that year) was an outstanding contribution to Bolshevik thought. It had a close kinship with Lenin's historic work, *What Is To Be Done?*, whose inspired ideas it vigorously upheld. It was a devastating criticism of the opportunist theory of spontaneity, and gave a reasoned explanation of the role and significance of a revolutionary party and of revolutionary theory for the working class.

"The working-class movement," wrote Stalin, "must be linked up with Socialism; practical activity must be closely bound up with theory, and a Social-Democratic meaning and character thus lent to the spontaneous working-class movement.... We Social-Democrats must prevent the spontaneous working-class movement from taking a purely trade-unionist course, we must direct it into Social-Democratic channels, *introduce* a Socialist consciousness into it, and weld the advanced forces of the working class into a centralized party. Our duty is, always and everywhere, to lead

the movement, and energetically to combat everyone—be he ‘friend’ or foe—who obstructs the realization of our sacred aim.”

Stalin’s writings met with Lenin’s wholehearted approval. Reviewing in the *Proletary*, the Central Organ of the Party, Stalin’s “Reply to a Social-Democrat,” which appeared in the *Borba Proletariata* in August 1905, Lenin noted the “excellent formulation of the famous question of the ‘introduction of consciousness from without.’”

Stalin wrote a number of articles in support of Lenin’s line at the Second Congress and after. In an article entitled “The Proletarian Class and the Proletarian Party” (*Borba Proletariata*, No. 8, January 1, 1905), dealing with the first paragraph of the Party Rules, he upheld the organizational principles of the Party as laid down in Lenin’s doctrine of the Party, explaining and enlarging upon Lenin’s ideas. This article was a defence of the organizational principles of Bolshevism as propounded by Lenin in his famous book *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*.

“Formerly,” Stalin wrote, “our Party resembled a hospitable patriarchal family, and was ready to accept all sympathizers into its midst. But now that our Party has become a centralized *organization*, it has thrown off its patriarchal aspect and has come in all respects to resemble a fortress, whose gates are opened only to the worthy. And this is of great importance to us. At a time when the autocracy is trying to corrupt the class consciousness of the proletariat by so-called ‘trade-unionism,’ nationalism, clericalism and the like, when, moreover, the liberal intelligentsia are persistently striving to kill the independent political initiative of the proletariat and to bring it under their tutelage, we must be extremely vigilant and must never forget that our Party is a *fortress*, whose gates are opened only to the worthy.”

The article “The Social-Democratic View of the National Question” (*Borba Proletariata*, No. 7, September 1, 1904) is a brilliant commentary on the national program of the R.S.D.L.P. Stalin sets forth and explains this program, devastatingly criticizes the opportunist principle of dividing the proletariat into national sections, and consistently advocates the internationalist type of proletarian class organization. Stalin here reveals himself as an outstanding authority on the national question, a theoretician with a perfect mastery of the Marxist dialectical method. He foreshadows the ideas which he subsequently developed in his *Marxism and the National Question*.

In the first Russian Revolution Stalin from the very outset resolutely advocated and practised Lenin's strategy and tactics, fully supporting his views on the *hegemony of the proletariat* in the revolution and on the transition from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to a Socialist revolution. A leaflet issued by the Tiflis Committee of the Caucasian Federation of the R.S.D.L.P. in connection with the banquet campaign of the Tiflis liberals declared: "It is our bold and outspoken voice, and not the cowardly voice of the liberals, that must resound through Russia. It is we, not the liberals, who must give the tone to the whole revolutionary movement. We must demand a democratic republic with universal suffrage. We must fight both the autocracy and the bourgeoisie."

The Caucasian Federal Committee, headed by Stalin, indefatigably propagated the decisions of the Third Congress and summoned the workers and peasants to armed insurrection. Stalin's leaflets of the year 1905 are a model of Bolshevik propaganda among the masses. In his "Armed Insurrection and Our Tactics," "Reaction is Growing" and other articles, he castigated the Menshevik leaders and insistently urged the necessity for armed insurrection.

The general strike of October 1905 demonstrated the might and strength of the proletarian movement and impelled the mortally terrified tsar to issue his Manifesto of October 17. Unstinting in its promises of popular liberties, this Manifesto was nothing but a fraud on the masses, a stratagem designed to secure a breathing space in which the tsar might fool the gullible, gain time and marshal his forces for a blow at the revolution. The Bolsheviks warned the masses that the Manifesto was a trap. The October Manifesto found Stalin in Tiflis, in the heat of the fight for Lenin's tactical plan and for the Bolshevik slogans in the revolution. That very same day, addressing a meeting of workers, Stalin said: "What do we need in order to really win? We need three things: first—arms, second—arms, third—arms and arms again." (Quoted in the *History of the C.P.S.U.[B.]*, p. 81.)

Insisting that the victory of the revolution demanded a nationwide armed insurrection, Stalin, in a leaflet issued by the Tiflis Committee of the Caucasian Federation of the R.S.D.L.P. which he wrote in November 1905, said:

"The general political strike now in swing, which for its grandeur is unprecedented and unparalleled in the history not only of Russia, but of the whole world, may perhaps end today

without developing into a nation-wide uprising—but if it does, it will only be to shake the country again with even greater force tomorrow and to develop into that great armed uprising which is to settle the age-old conflict between the Russian people and the tsarist autocracy and dash out the brains of that vile monster. . . . A nation-wide armed uprising—that is the great task which now confronts the proletariat of Russia and imperatively demands accomplishment!”

Stalin's revolutionary activities in Transcaucasia at this period were immense. Under his guidance the Fourth Bolshevik Conference of the Caucasian Federation of the R.S.D.L.P. (November 1905) passed a resolution calling for more energetic preparation for armed insurrection; it appealed for a boycott of the tsarist Duma and for the extension and consolidation of the revolutionary organizations of the workers and peasants—the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, the strike committees and the revolutionary peasant committees. Stalin exposed and denounced the Mensheviks as opponents of the revolution and of armed insurrection. He worked assiduously to prepare the workers for the decisive engagement with the autocracy. The flames of revolution swept all over Transcaucasia. Special mention of the activities of the Bolshevik organizations in Transcaucasia was made at the Third Congress of the Party, in the resolution on “The Events in the Caucasus,” moved by Lenin, which referred to these organizations as “the most militant in our Party” and called upon the whole Party to lend them the utmost support.

In December 1905, Stalin attended the first All-Russian Bolshevik Conference in Tammerfors (Finland), as a delegate from the Transcaucasian Bolsheviks. It was here that Lenin and Stalin first met. Stalin worked with Lenin on the Political, or Drafting, Committee of the Conference, to which he was elected as one of the prominent leaders of the Party.

With the defeat of the December uprising, the tide of revolution gradually began to ebb. The conflict between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks flared up afresh with the preparations for the Fourth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. Anarcho-syndicalist elements came to the fore; they were particularly conspicuous in Tiflis. Stalin continued to lead the struggle against all anti-proletarian trends in Transcaucasia.

Stalin took an active part in the Fourth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (Stockholm, April 1906), where, together with Lenin, he

upheld the Bolshevik line in the revolution against the Mensheviks. Stalin put the question squarely:

“Either the hegemony of the proletariat, or the hegemony of the democratic bourgeoisie—that is how the question stands in the Party, and that is where our differences lie.”

Shortly after the Congress, Stalin wrote a pamphlet entitled *The Present Situation and the Unity Congress of the Workers' Party*, in which he analysed the lessons of the December armed uprising, justified the Bolshevik line in the revolution and summed up the results of the Fourth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.

After the Congress Stalin returned to Transcaucasia, where he continued his uncompromising fight against Menshevism and other anti-proletarian trends. He directed the *Akhali Tskhovreba* (*New Life*), *Akhali Droyeba* (*New Age*), *Chveni Tskhovreba* (*Our Life*) and *Dro* (*Time*), Bolshevik newspapers published legally in the Georgian language.

It was at this period that Stalin wrote the remarkable series of articles under the general title “Anarchism or Socialism,” in connection with the activities of anarchists of the Kropotkin school in Transcaucasia. With the ebb of the revolution and the rising tide of reaction, the Party was called upon to defend the theoretical foundations of Bolshevism. It was at this period that Lenin wrote his masterly work, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. Stalin, too, rose up in defence of the theoretical foundations of Marxism, writing a series of articles on dialectical and historical materialism. These articles were published in 1906 and 1907 in the Bolshevik newspapers of Transcaucasia. They explained the meaning of materialism and dialectics and the principles of historical materialism in simple and popular style, at the same time formulating and answering with profound penetration the fundamental questions of Marxist-Leninist theory: the inevitability and inavertibility of the Socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the necessity for a militant proletarian party, a party of a *new* type, differing from the old, reformist parties of the Second International. They also expounded the basic strategy and tactics of the Party. These articles are an important contribution to the theory of Marxism-Leninism and form part of the ideological treasury of our Party. In their profound treatment of the theory of Marxism-Leninism in the light of the urgent tasks of the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat they are exemplary.

Stalin took an active part in the work of the Fifth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., held in London in April and May 1907, at which the victory of the Bolsheviks over the Mensheviks was consolidated. On his return, he published his "Notes of a Delegate," in which he examined the decisions and results of the Congress, justified the ideological and tactical position of the Bolsheviks, denounced the bourgeois-liberal line of the Mensheviks in the revolution and their policy of liquidating the Party, and revealed the class nature of Menshevism, showing that it was a petty-bourgeois political trend.

III

The first Russian Revolution ended in defeat. Between the first and the second revolutions there intervened a period of ten years, during which the Bolsheviks worked perseveringly and indefatigably, with heroism and self-sacrifice to organize the masses, to foster in them the revolutionary spirit, to guide their struggles and to prepare the ground for the future victory of the revolution.

For Lenin and Stalin these were years of relentless struggle for the preservation and consolidation of the underground revolutionary Party, for the application of the Bolshevik line in the new conditions; they were years of strenuous effort to organize and educate the masses of the working class, and of unusually stubborn conflict with the tsarist police. The tsarist authorities sensed in Stalin an outstanding revolutionary, and were at great pains to deprive him of all opportunities of carrying on revolutionary work. Arrest, imprisonment and exile followed each other in swift succession. Between 1902 and 1913, he was arrested eight times and exiled seven times. He escaped from exile six times. Scarcely had the tsarist authorities convoyed him to a new place of exile than he would again be "at large," to resume his work of mustering the revolutionary energies of the masses. His last term of exile was the only one he did not cut short in this way; from that he was released by the revolution of February 1917.

In 1907 began the Baku period of Stalin's revolutionary career. On his return from the Fifth (London) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., he left Tiflis on the instructions of the Party and settled in Baku, the largest industrial area in Transcaucasia and one of the most important centres of the working-class movement in Russia. Here he threw himself into the work of winning the Baku organization for Lenin's slogans and of rallying the working masses under the banner of Bolshevism. He organized the campaign to oust the Mensheviks from the working-class districts of Baku (Balakhani,

Bibi-Eibat, Chorny Gorod and Byely Gorod). He directed the Bolshevik publications, legal and illegal (*Bakinsky Proletary*, *Gudok* and *Bakinsky Rabochy*). He guided the struggle of the Baku workers. The big campaign he organized in connection with the negotiations for a collective agreement between the oil workers and the operators was a brilliant application of Lenin's policy of flexibly combining illegal and legal activities. He secured the victory of the Bolsheviks in this campaign by skilfully applying Lenin's tactics of rallying the workers for a political struggle against the tsarist monarchy. Baku, where a proletarian struggle seethed, and whence the voice of Stalin's fosterlings, the legal Bolshevik newspapers, reverberated throughout Russia, presented an unusual picture amid the gloomy night of Stolypin reaction. "The last of the Mohicans of the mass political strike!" was Lenin's comment on the heroic struggle of the Baku workers in 1908.

Around Stalin rallied a sturdy band of tried Bolsheviks and Leninists—Orjonikidze, Voroshilov, Djaparidze, Shaumyan, Spandaryan and others—and finally he secured the complete triumph of Bolshevism in the Baku Party organization. Baku became a stronghold of Bolshevism. Under Stalin's leadership, the Baku proletariat waged a heroic struggle in the front ranks of the Russian revolutionary movement.

The Baku period was of major importance in Stalin's life. This is what he himself says of it:

"Two years of revolutionary activity among the workers in the oil industry steeled me as a practical fighter and as one of the practical leaders. Contact with advanced workers in Baku, with men like Vatssek and Saratovetz, on the one hand, and the storm of acute conflicts between the workers and oil owners, on the other, first taught me what leading large masses of workers meant. It was in Baku that I thus received my second revolutionary baptism of fire." (*Pravda*, June 16, 1926).

On March 25, 1908, Stalin was arrested and, after spending nearly eight months in prison, was exiled to Solvychegodsk, in the Province of Vologda, for a term of two years. But on June 24, 1909, he escaped and made his way back to Baku, to continue his illegal work. He vigorously and unreservedly supported Lenin in his stand against the Liquidators and Otzovists. His historic "Letters from the Caucasus" appeared in the central Party press; in them he subjected the Liquidators to devastating criticism, using the example of the Tiflis Mensheviks to illustrate the renegacy of

the Liquidators on questions of program and tactics. These letters severely condemned the treacherous conduct of the accomplices of Trotskyism, and formulated the immediate tasks of the Party, to which the Prague Conference subsequently gave effect, namely, the convocation of a general Party conference, the publication of a legal Party newspaper and the formation of an illegal Party centre to conduct the practical work in Russia.

On March 23, 1910, Stalin was again arrested in Baku, and, after spending six months in prison, was convoyed back to Solvychevodsk. He established contact with Lenin from exile, and towards the end of 1910 wrote him a letter in which he expressed full solidarity with Lenin's tactic of forming a Party bloc of all who favoured the preservation and consolidation of the illegal proletarian party. In this same letter he castigated the "rank unprincipledness" of the traitor Trotsky and outlined a plan for the organization of Party work in Russia.

In the late summer of 1911, Stalin made his third escape from exile and went to St. Petersburg. There he organized and directed the fight against the Liquidators—Mensheviks and Trotskyites—and worked to rally and strengthen the Bolshevik organizations. In St. Petersburg he was arrested, on September 9, 1911, and sent back to the Vologda Province, whence he again managed to escape in February 1912.

Meanwhile, in January 1912, a momentous event had taken place in the life of the Party. The Prague Conference, having expelled the Mensheviks from the Party, inaugurated a party of a new type, a Leninist party, the Bolshevik Party.

For this party of a new type the Bolsheviks had been working ever since the days of the old *Iskra*—working persistently and perseveringly, regardless of all obstacles. The whole history of the fight against the "Economists," the Mensheviks, the Trotskyites, the Otzovists and the idealists of all shades, down to the empirio-criticists, had been paving the way for the formation of such a party. Of exclusive and decisive importance in this preparatory work were Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?*, *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, and *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. Stalin fought side by side with Lenin in this struggle against innumerable enemies, and was his staunch support in the fight for a revolutionary Marxist party, a Bolshevik Party.

IV

The Prague Conference had predicted a revolutionary revival in the near future and had taken all necessary measures to prepare the Party for it. It elected a Bolshevik Central Committee, set up a practical centre to direct revolutionary activities in Russia (the Russian Bureau of the Central Committee), and decided to publish the *Pravda* newspaper. Stalin, who had been an agent of the Central Committee since 1910, was elected to the Central Committee in his absence. On Lenin's proposal, he was put in charge of the Russian Bureau of the Central Committee. But Stalin was in exile, and arrangements for his flight had to be made. On Lenin's instructions, Sergo Orjonikidze went to Vologda to inform Stalin of the decisions of the Prague Conference. Then, on February 29, 1912, Stalin again escaped from exile. He had a brief spell of liberty, which he turned to good account. On the instructions of the Central Committee, he toured the most important districts in Russia, made preparations for the coming May Day demonstration, wrote the now well-known May Day leaflet of the Central Committee, and edited the Bolshevik weekly *Zvezda* in St. Petersburg during the strikes that followed the shooting down of the workers in the Lena goldfields.

A powerful aid to the Bolshevik Party in strengthening its organizations and spreading its influence among the masses was the Bolshevik daily newspaper *Pravda*, published in St. Petersburg. It was founded according to Lenin's instructions, on the initiative of Stalin. It was under Stalin's direction that the first issue was prepared and the character of the paper decided. *Pravda* was born simultaneously with the new rise of the revolutionary movement. Its first issue appeared on April 22 (May 5, new style), 1912. This was a day of real celebration for the workers. It is in honour of *Pravda's* appearance that it was later decided to celebrate May 5 as Workers' Press Day.

"The *Pravda* of 1912," Comrade Stalin wrote on the occasion of

the tenth anniversary of the paper, "was the laying of the cornerstone of the victory of Bolshevism in 1917."

On April 22, 1912, Stalin was arrested on the streets of St. Petersburg. After several months in prison, he was exiled again, for a term of three years, this time to the remote region of Narym. But on September 1 he once more escaped and returned to St. Petersburg. Here he edited the Bolshevik newspapers *Zvezda* and *Pravda*, and directed the Bolshevik campaign in the elections to the Fourth Duma. At great risk, for the police were constantly on his track, he addressed a number of meetings at factories. But the workers and their organizations kept close guard on Stalin and protected him from the police.

A great part in this campaign, which culminated in a victory for the Party, was played by Stalin's "Mandate of the Workingmen of St. Petersburg to their Labour Deputy." Lenin attached the highest importance to the Mandate; when sending the copy to the press, he wrote on the margin: "*Return without fail!! Keep clean. Highly important* to preserve this document." In a letter to the editors of *Pravda*, he wrote: "Publish this 'Mandate to the St. Petersburg Deputy without fail, in a prominent place in large type." Stalin's Mandate reminded the workers of the unaccomplished tasks of the 1905 Revolution and summoned them to a revolutionary struggle, a struggle on two fronts—against the tsarist government and against the liberal bourgeoisie, which was seeking to come to terms with tsardom. After the elections Stalin guided the activities of the Bolshevik group in the Duma. With Stalin in St. Petersburg worked Molotov, who took an active part in the editorship of the *Pravda*, in the election campaign and in the guidance of the Bolshevik group in the Duma. At this period contact between Lenin and Stalin became even closer. In his letters Lenin expressed his entire approval of Stalin's activities and of his speeches and articles. On two occasions Stalin went abroad to Cracow, where Lenin was then residing: once in November 1912, and again at the end of December 1912, to attend a conference of the Central Committee with leading Party members.

It was while he was abroad that Stalin wrote "Marxism and the National Question," on which Lenin set the highest value. "The principles of the Social-Democratic national program," Lenin wrote, "have already been dealt with recently in Marxian literature (in this connection Stalin's article stands in the forefront)." This treatise was one of the major pronouncements of Bolshevism on the national question in the international arena

in the pre-war period. *It was a declaration of the Bolshevik program on the national problem.* Two methods, two programs, two outlooks on the national question were sharply contrasted in this work—that of the Second International and that of Leninism. Stalin worked with Lenin to demolish the opportunist views and dogmas of the Second International on this question. It was Lenin and Stalin who worked out the Marxist program on the national problem. Stalin's book formulates the Marxist theory of nations, outlines the principles of the Bolshevik solution of the national problem (which demands that it be treated as part of the general problem of proletarian revolution and inseparably from the entire international situation in the era of imperialism), and lays down the Bolshevik principle of international proletarian solidarity.

On February 23, 1913, Stalin was arrested at a concert arranged by the St. Petersburg Bolshevik Committee in the Kalashnikov Hall. This time the tsarist authorities exiled Stalin to the remote region of Turukhansk, for a term of four years. At first he lived in the village of Kostino; but, fearful lest he should escape again, the tsarist gendarmes transferred him (at the beginning of 1914) still further north, to the village of Kureika, on the very fringe of the Arctic Circle, where he lived for three years—right down to 1916. Severer conditions of political exile could scarcely have been found in all the remote expanses of the Siberian wilderness.

In the summer of 1914, the first imperialist war broke out. The parties of the Second International shamefully betrayed the proletariat and joined the camp of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Only the Bolsheviks, headed by Lenin, remained true to the banner of internationalism. Immediately and unhesitatingly, the Bolsheviks, alone of all parties, called for a resolute struggle against the imperialist war. And Stalin, cut off though he was from the outside world and isolated from Lenin and the Party centres, took up the same internationalist stand as Lenin on the questions of war, peace, and revolution. He wrote to Lenin in 1915. In the same year he addressed a meeting of exiled Bolsheviks in the village of Monastyrskoye where he stigmatized the cowardly and treacherous behaviour of Kamenev at the trial of the Bolshevik members of the Fourth Duma. In 1916, he and other Bolshevik exiles sent a message of greetings to the legally published Bolshevik magazine *Voprosy Strakhovania (Insurance Questions)*, pointing out that it was the duty of this magazine "to devote all its efforts and energies to the ideological insurance of the working class of

our country against the deeply corrupting, anti-proletarian preaching of gentry like Potressov, Levitsky and Plekhanov, preaching running directly counter to the principles of internationalism."

In December 1916 Stalin was sent under convoy to Krasnoyarsk, and thence to Achinsk. There it was that he heard the first tidings of the Revolution of February 1917. He made no delay in setting out for Petrograd, on the way wiring a message of greetings to Lenin in Switzerland.

On March 12 (25, new style), 1917, Stalin, not a whit the worse for the hardships of exile so bravely endured in Turukhansk, again set foot in Petrograd—the revolutionary capital of Russia. That very day the Central Committee of the Party instructed him to take charge of the *Pravda*.

The Bolshevik Party had just emerged from underground. Many of its most prominent and active members were still on their way back from remote prisons and places of exile. Lenin was abroad, and the bourgeois Provisional Government was putting every obstacle in the way of his return. The moment was critical, and Stalin set to work to rally the Party and fit it for the fight for the transition from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the Socialist revolution. He directed the activities of the Central Committee and of the Petrograd Committee of the Bolshevik Party. In his articles the Bolsheviks found the guiding principles they needed in their work. The very first article he wrote on his return from exile, "The Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies," spoke of the main task of the Party, which, Stalin said, was "to consolidate these Soviets, make them universal, and link them together under the ægis of a Central Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies as the organ of revolutionary power of the people." (Lenin and Stalin, 1917, p. 12.)

The character of the imperialist war, Stalin showed, had not changed with the assumption of power by the Provisional Government, and under the bourgeois Provisional Government the war of 1914-17 remained a predatory and unjust war.

Stalin and Molotov, supported by the majority of the Party members, advocated a policy of "no confidence" in the imperialist Provisional Government, and denounced both the defencism of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries and the semi-Menshevik position of conditional support for the Provisional Government advocated by Kamenev and other opportunists.

V

On April 3 (16), 1917, after a long period of foreign exile, Lenin returned to Russia. The news of the arrival of the beloved leader of the revolution was hailed with enthusiasm by the advanced workers of Petrograd. Stalin, at the head of a delegation of workers, went to meet him at Byelo-Ostrov. The welcome accorded to Lenin upon his arrival at the Finland Railway Station in Pétrograd turned into a mighty revolutionary demonstration. On the morrow of his arrival, Lenin announced his famous April Theses, which provided the Party with a brilliant plan of struggle for the transition from the bourgeois-democratic to the Socialist revolution. They gave the Party the new orientation it needed in the new conditions of the struggle that followed the overthrow of tsardom. On April 24, 1917, the Seventh (April) Conference of the Bolshevik Party assembled. Lenin's theses formed the basis of its deliberations. The Conference directed the efforts of the Party to the struggle for the transition from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the Socialist revolution.

At this Conference Stalin supported Lenin's policy, and sharply repulsed the covert defenders of capitalism, Kamenev and Rykov. Stalin made a report on the national question. Developing a consistent Marxist-Leninist line, he laid down a Bolshevik national policy, advocating the right of nations to self-determination, even to the point of secession and the formation of independent states. It was the national policy of Lenin and Stalin that was to secure for the Party the support of the oppressed nationalities in the Great October Socialist Revolution.

After the Conference, in May 1917, a Political Bureau of the Central Committee was formed, to which Stalin was elected and to which he has been successively re-elected ever since.

On the basis of the decisions of the April Conference, the Party set energetically to work to win over the masses, and to train and organize them for militant action.

In this complex period of the revolution, when events moved at breakneck speed, demanding skillful and flexible tactics of the Party, it was Lenin and Stalin that guided the struggle of the masses.

"I recall the year 1917," says Stalin, "when, after my wanderings from one prison and place of exile to another, I was transferred by the will of the Party to Leningrad. There, in the society of Russian workers, and in contact with Comrade Lenin, the great teacher of the proletarians of all countries, in the midst of the storm of mighty conflicts between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, in the midst of the imperialist war, I first learnt what it meant to be one of the leaders of the great Party of the working class. There, in the society of Russian workers—the liberators of oppressed nationalities and the pioneers of the proletarian struggle in all countries and among all peoples—I received my third revolutionary baptism of fire. There, in Russia, under Lenin's guidance, I became a master of the art of revolution." (*Pravda*, June 16, 1926.)

Stalin was at the centre of the practical activities of the Party. As a member of the Central Committee he took a direct and leading part in the work of the Petrograd Committee of the Party, supervised the *Pravda*, wrote articles for it and for the *Soldatskaya Pravda*, and directed the Bolshevik campaign in the Petrograd municipal elections. Together with Lenin, he took part in the all-Russian conference of the Party organizations in the army, where he delivered a report. Together with Lenin, he organized the historic demonstration of June 18, which marched under the slogans of the Bolshevik Party; and he drew up the manifesto of the Central Committee to the workers and revolutionary soldiers of Petrograd.

After the events of July 1917, when Lenin, hounded and persecuted by the counter-revolutionary Provisional Government, was forced to go into hiding, Stalin directed the work of the Central Committee and the Central Party Organ, which at that time appeared under a succession of different names (*Rabochy i Soldat*, *Proletary*, *Rabochy*, *Rabochy Put*). It was Stalin who saved the precious life of Lenin for the Party, for the Soviet people and for humanity at large, by vigorously resisting the proposal of the traitors Kamenev, Rykov and Trotsky that Lenin should appear for trial before the courts of the counter-revolutionary Provisional Government.

The brutal suppression of the July demonstration marked a turn-

ing point in the development of the revolution. Lenin worked out new tactics for the Party in the new conditions of the struggle.

Together with Sverdlov, Stalin steered the work of the Sixth Party Congress (August 1917), which was held in secret. At this Congress Stalin made the political report of the Central Committee and also a report on the political situation, in which he gave a clear-cut formulation of the aims and tactics of the Party in the struggle for the Socialist revolution. He refuted the arguments of the Trotskyites, who considered that Socialism could not be victorious in Russia. And in insisting on Lenin's doctrine that the victory of Socialism was quite possible in Russia, he had the full support of the Congress. Guided by Stalin and by Lenin's instructions, the Sixth Congress inaugurated the preparations for insurrection. The Congress headed the Party for armed insurrection and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In August 1917, General Kornilov launched his revolt with the aim of restoring tsardom in Russia. The Bolsheviki roused the masses to resist the attempted coup, and Kornilov's revolt was crushed. This ushered in a new phase in the history of the revolution: the phase in which the forces were to be massed for the grand assault.

Boldly and confidently, firmly yet circumspectly, Lenin and Stalin led the Party and the working class towards armed insurrection, towards the Socialist revolution. It was they who inspired and organized the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Stalin was Lenin's right-hand man. He had direct charge of all the preparations for the insurrection. His articles in the central press laying down the guiding policy were reprinted in the provincial Bolshevik newspapers. He summoned representatives from the district and regional organizations to Petrograd, gave them instructions and drew up plans of campaign for the various localities. On October 16 (29), the Central Committee elected a Party Centre, headed by Comrade Stalin, to direct the uprising. This Centre formed part of the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Petrograd Soviet, and became the soul of that organization. Under Stalin's guidance, the plan for the uprising was drawn up, and the date set. Early in the morning of October 24, Kerensky ordered the suppression of the central organ of the Party, *Rabochy Put*, and sent a number of armoured cars to the editorial and printing offices of the newspaper to effect the order. But by ten a.m. a

force of Red Guards and revolutionary soldiers, acting on Stalin's instructions, had pressed back the armoured cars and placed a strong guard over the printing and editorial offices. At eleven o'clock the *Rabochy Put* came out, with a leading article by Stalin entitled "What Do We Need?" calling upon the masses to overthrow the bourgeois Provisional Government. At the same time, on instructions of the Party Centre, detachments of revolutionary soldiers and Red Guards were rushed to the Smolny Institute. The insurrection began and ended victoriously in one day. The Second Congress of Soviets, which opened on the evening of October 25, turned over the entire power to the Soviets.

Stalin was elected to the first Council of People's Commissars, which, headed by Lenin, was set up by the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets after the victory of the October Revolution.

The Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in changes of epoch-making importance. It split the world into two systems—the capitalist and the Socialist. The Bolshevik Party was now faced with new conditions, with new and gigantic tasks. And the forms of struggle of the working class had likewise undergone a fundamental change.

From the inception of the Soviet Government to 1923, Stalin was the People's Commissar for the Affairs of the Nationalities. He personally directed all the measures taken by the Party and the Soviet Government to solve the national problem in the Soviet Republic. It was he who drew up the historic "Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia," which ushered in a new era in the relations between nation and nation: the old relations of domination and subjection, of tyranny and violence, were superseded by complete equality, fraternal confidence and amity among all the nationalities of the country. Guided by Lenin and Stalin, the workers and peasants turned the tsarist colonies into free and thriving Soviet republics. There is not a single Soviet republic in whose organization Stalin did not take an active and leading part. He directed the fight for the creation of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, the Byelorussian Republic and the Soviet republics of Transcaucasia and Central Asia, and he helped the numerous nationalities of the Soviet Land to set up their autonomous republics and regions. Lenin and Stalin were the engineers and builders of the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Lenin's closest assistants in the organization of the Soviet state were Stalin and Sverdlov. Stalin fought side by side with Lenin to

defeat despicable scabs and deserters in the revolution of the stamp of Kamenev, Zinoviev and Rykov. During Lenin's illness, Stalin deputized for him in the Council of People's Commissars. He took an active and leading part in all decisive measures and actions, such as the organization of the defeat of Kerensky and Krasnov, the suppression of the sabotage of the old state officials, the liquidation of the counter-revolutionary General Headquarters and the removal of the tsarist generals, the suppression of the bourgeois press, the action against the counter-revolutionary Ukrainian Rada, the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly, and the drafting of the first Soviet Constitution in 1918.

In January 1918, on the instructions of the Central Committee, Stalin arranged a conference of representatives of the revolutionary wings of various Socialist parties of Europe and America, which was an important step towards the formation of the Third, Communist, International.

In the trying days of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations, when the fate of the revolution hung in the balance, Stalin was at one with Lenin in upholding the Bolshevik strategy and tactics against the traitor Trotsky and his henchman Bukharin, who, in league with the British and French imperialists, sought to expose the young and still weak Soviet Republic to the blows of German imperialism.

VI

Overthrown by the October Socialist Revolution, the Russian landlords and capitalists began to conspire with the capitalists of other countries for the organization of military intervention against the Soviet Republic, with the aim of defeating the workers and peasants, overthrowing the Soviet Government and once again fastening the chains of slavery on the country. Civil war broke out, accompanied by military intervention. The Soviet Government proclaimed the Socialist fatherland in danger and called upon the people to rise in its defence. The Bolshevik Party rallied the workers and peasants for a *'patriotic'* war to defend the country from foreign invaders and the bourgeois and landlord Whiteguards.

In the spring of 1918, the British and French imperialists instigated a revolt of the Czechoslovakian Corps (formed of prisoners of war from the Austro-Hungarian army), which, after the conclusion of peace with Germany, was making its way to France *via* Siberia.

The revolt of the Czechoslovaks, which was timed to coincide with revolts engineered by Whiteguards and Socialist-Revolutionaries in twenty-three cities on the Volga, a revolt of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries in Moscow, and a landing of British troops in Murmansk, unleashed all the forces of counter-revolution. The moment was a highly critical one. The country had only just extricated itself from the clutches of the imperialist war. The misrule of the capitalists and landlords had brought the country to the verge of disaster. The workers in Moscow and Petrograd were barely receiving two ounces of bread a day. The republic was cut off from the granaries of the Ukraine and Siberia. The southeast, the Volga region and the North Caucasus, were the only areas from which grain could be obtained, and the road to them lay by way of the Volga, through

Tsaritsyn. To save the revolution it was imperative to get grain. Lenin appealed to the workers of Petrograd to organize expeditions into the countryside to help the poor peasants against the grain profiteers, kulaks and usurers. Stalin left for the south, invested by the Central Committee with extraordinary powers to superintend the mobilization of supplies in the south of Russia.

On June 6, 1918, Stalin arrived in Tsaritsyn with a detachment of workers. Combining as he did the talents of a political leader with those of a military strategist, Stalin at once realized the importance of Tsaritsyn, as the point at which the counter-revolutionary forces were likely to deliver their main attack. The capture of Tsaritsyn would have cut off the republic from its last sources of grain supply and from the oil of Baku, and would have enabled the counter-revolutionaries in the Don region to join forces with the Czechoslovaks for a general advance on Moscow. Tsaritsyn had to be retained at all costs. After clearing the city of Whiteguard plotters with a stern hand, and dispatching substantial supplies of food to the starving capitals, Stalin turned his whole attention to the defence of Tsaritsyn. He ruthlessly broke down the resistance of the counter-revolutionary military experts appointed and supported by Trotsky, and took swift and vigorous measures to reorganize the scattered detachments and to expedite the arrival of Voroshilov's units, which subsequently formed the nucleus of the Tenth Army. Thanks to Stalin's iron will and masterly foresight, Tsaritsyn was saved and the Whites prevented from breaking through to Moscow.

The epic defence of Tsaritsyn coincided with the débâcle of German imperialism in the Ukraine. In November 1918, revolution broke out in Germany and Austria-Hungary. The Central Committee commissioned Stalin to organize the Ukrainian front and assist the Ukrainian workers and peasants. Twenty leading Party workers from the Tenth Army, headed by Comrade Voroshilov, were placed at his disposal. At the end of November the Ukrainian insurrectionary troops advanced against Petlura and the Germans and liberated Kharkov. Minsk, in the West, was also liberated. Stalin performed inestimable service in the liberation of the Western regions and the formation of the Byelorussian Republic.

On November 30, 1918, a Council of Workers' and Peasants' Defence was set up, headed by Lenin, to direct the entire work

of defence, both at the front and in the rear, and to mobilize the industries, the transport system, and all the resources of the country. Stalin was appointed to the Council as the representative of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, and virtually acted as Lenin's deputy.

At the end of 1918 the situation on the Perm front had become catastrophic. Kolchak was hastening to join forces with the British, who were advancing from the north. Acting in the name of the Council of Defence, Lenin demanded that steps be taken to improve the situation at Perm. He proposed that Stalin and Dzerzhinsky be appointed by the Central Committee for this purpose. Arrived at the Perm front, Stalin acted swiftly and drastically, and soon had the situation in hand. In the south, at Tsaritsyn, his iron will had prevented the counter-revolutionaries of the Don from joining forces with the counter-revolutionaries of the Urals and the Volga. In the north, he frustrated the attempt of the forces of intervention to join with the Czechs and Kolchak. Cut off from his allies in the south and in the north, Kolchak was soon in full retreat before the Red forces.

Returning from the Eastern Front, Stalin addressed himself to the task of organizing the State Control, and, in March 1919, on Lenin's nomination, was appointed People's Commissar of the State Control, which body was later reorganized into the People's Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. In this post he remained until April 1922, performing inestimable service in the cause of enlisting the working people in the work of administering the state.

In May 1919, General Yudenich, with the support of the Finnish Whites and of Esthonian troops, started a swift advance on Petrograd, with the aim of diverting the Red forces from Kolchak. This offensive was supported by a British naval squadron. A mutiny of the forts of "Krasnaya Gorka" and "Seraya Loshad" was engineered in the rear of the Red Army. The Red front wavered, and the enemy broke through to the very gates of Petrograd.

The Central Committee chose Stalin to organize the repulse of the Whites. Communists poured to the front. Stalin soon restored order, making short work of enemies and traitors in the armed forces. The mutinous forts were captured by a combined blow from land and sea, and the White troops hurled back. The threat to Petrograd was removed. The plans of the Entente to capture

that city were frustrated. Yudenich was routed, the remnants of his army taking refuge in Esthonia.

In the summer of 1919, Stalin went to Smolensk, on the Western Front, to organize the resistance to the Polish offensive.

Beaten in this first campaign, the Entente, after having crushed the Soviets in Bavaria, Hungary, Esthonia and Latvia, launched a new campaign in the autumn of 1919, enlisting, besides their own and White troops, the armies of the small states bordering on Russia. The British Secretary for War boastfully referred to this as "the campaign of fourteen states."

While the Red Army was engaged in routing Kolchak in the east, Denikin seized the Donetsk Basin and invaded the Ukraine along a broad front. Trotsky's treacherous activities had disorganized the Southern Front, and the Red forces suffered defeat after defeat. Acting in support of Denikin, the Polish Whites captured Minsk. Yudenich launched a new offensive against Petrograd, while Kolchak tried to make a stand on the Tobol. Never had the enemy been within such close reach of the Soviet capital. The capitalists of the Donetsk Basin even offered a reward of a million rubles to the first White regiment to enter Moscow.

In face of this White offensive, Lenin issued an impassioned appeal on behalf of the Central Committee to all the Party organizations. "All for the fight against Denikin!" was his cry.

Mass reinforcements and munitions were rushed to the Southern Front. But a leader was required to weld together the hundreds of thousands of men, to unite them by a single purpose and hurl them against the enemy. The Central Committee sent Stalin to organize victory on the Southern Front.

Chaos, consternation and a total lack of strategical plan was what this revolutionary military leader found when he arrived at the front. He at once set about clearing the staffs of Trotsky's discredited placemen and demanded that Trotsky be not allowed under any circumstances to interfere in the affairs of the front. He scrapped the old plan, a criminally impracticable scheme to break through Denikin's line by an advance from the Volga to Novorossiisk, and drew up a plan of his own, which was a piece of masterly strategy. He proposed that the main blow be struck at Denikin through Kharkov, the Donetsk Basin, and Rostov, so as to split the counter-revolutionary army in two. This plan would ensure the rapid advance of the Red Army, as the line of march lay through proletarian centres where the population was in open

sympathy with the Red Army and impatiently awaiting its arrival, and where there was an extensive network of railways, which would enable the troops to receive all necessary supplies. At the same time this plan would free the Donetz Basin—a mighty reservoir of revolutionary forces, and a source of the fuel the country so sorely needed.

Stalin's plan was approved by the Central Committee.

Stalin left nothing undone to ensure victory. He intently followed the operations, correcting mistakes as they arose, selected the commanders and political commissars, and instilled his own spirit into them. Under his direction, instructions for regimental commissars on the Southern Front were drawn up, in which their duties were defined in the following striking words:

"The regimental commissar is the political and moral leader of his regiment, the first to defend its material and spiritual interests. While the regimental commander is the head of the regiment, the commissar is its father and its soul."

Thanks to Stalin's plan, Denikin was completely routed. It was on Stalin's initiative that the valourous First Mounted Army was formed, which, commanded by Budyonny, Voroshilov and Shchadenko and supported by the other armies on the Southern Front, gave the coup de grâce to Denikin's armies.

In 1920, the Central Committee commissioned Stalin to the South-Western Front against the Poles, who formed the spearhead of the third Entente campaign against the Soviet Republic. Here Stalin took part in directing the operations that broke the Polish front and led to the liberation of Kiev and the advance of the Soviet troops to the outskirts of Lvov. In the same year Stalin organized the defence of the Southern Ukraine against Wrangel, and outlined a plan for the destruction of his forces. Stalin's recommendations formed the basis of Frunze's plan of operations, which ended in Wrangel's utter defeat.

During the Civil War the Central Committee of the Party, and Lenin personally, sent Stalin to the most important fronts, wherever the threat to the revolution was most imminent. He was a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic and of the Revolutionary Military Councils of the Western, Southern and South-Western Fronts. Wherever, for various reasons, the Red Army found itself in mortal danger, wherever the advance of the forces of counter-revolution and intervention threatened the very existence of the Soviet regime, there Stalin was sent to take the

situation in hand. "Wherever alarm and panic might at any moment develop into helplessness and catastrophe," writes Voroshilov, "there Comrade Stalin was always sure to appear." (K. E. Voroshilov, *Stalin and the Red Army*, p. 10.)

And wherever he went Stalin would organize the Party rank and file and the worker masses, and firmly take the reins of leadership into his hands. With the help of the masses, he would ruthlessly crush all sabotage, suppress with an iron hand the conspiracies of traitors and spies in the rear and at the front. By his personal example, by his selfless labour and clear revolutionary perspective, he would rouse the fighting spirit and revolutionary enthusiasm of the workers and peasants and of the Red Army men, radically and swiftly improving the efficiency of the army and turning imminent defeat into brilliant victory.

He saw through and foiled the most artful and insidious strategic plans of the enemy, confounding their military science, art and training.

Stalin's services in the Civil War received special recognition in a decision adopted by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, on Lenin's motion, on November 27, 1919, which reads:

"At a moment of mortal danger, when Soviet Russia, hemmed in on all sides by a close ring of foes, was repulsing the blows of the enemy; at a moment when, in July 1919, the enemies of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolution were approaching Red Petrograd, and had already captured Fort Krasnaya Gorka, at this hour of Soviet Russia's dire need, Joseph Vissarionovich Djughashvili (Stalin), appointed by the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to the post of danger, by his energy and indefatigable efforts, succeeded in rallying the faltering ranks of the Red Army.

"By personal example in the fighting line, under the fire of the enemy, he lent inspiration to the ranks of the defenders of the Soviet Republic.

"In recognition of his services in the defence of Petrograd, as well as of his subsequent self-sacrificing work on the Southern Front, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee hereby resolves to confer on J. V. Djughashvili (Stalin) the Order of the Red Banner."

It was the Bolshevik Party, headed by Lenin and Stalin, that created the Red Army—the first Red army in the world, the army of the emancipated workers and peasants, of the brotherhood of

the peoples of the Soviet country, an army trained in the spirit of internationalism. Lenin and Stalin it was who, with other outstanding leaders of the Bolshevik Party, personally directed the defence of the country.

It was Stalin who directly inspired and organized the major victories of the Red Army. Wherever the destinies of the revolution were being decided in battle, there the Party sent Stalin. It was he who drew up the chief strategic plans and who personally directed the decisive military operations. At Tsaritsyn and Perm, at Petrograd and in the operations against Denikin, in the west against the Polish barons and in the south against Wrangel, everywhere Stalin's iron will and strategical genius ensured victory for the revolution. It was he who trained and directed the military commissars, without whom, as Lenin said, there would have been no Red Army.

With Stalin's name are linked the most glorious victories of the Red Army.

VII

Having successfully ended the war against the forces of intervention, the Soviet Republic turned to the work of peaceful economic development. Four years of imperialist war and three years of civil war had reduced the country to a state of ruin. The Civil War over, the peasants began to voice discontent at the levying of all their surplus produce under the surplus-appropriation system, and to demand a sufficient supply of manufactured goods. Due to hunger and exhaustion, a section of the workers, too, began to show signs of discontent. The class enemy tried to turn the dire economic distress of the country to his own ends.

The Party was confronted with the necessity of working out a new line of policy on all questions affecting the economic life of the country. It was clear to the Central Committee that, the war over and peaceful economic development having been begun, the system of War Communism no longer served its purpose. The need for the surplus-appropriation system had passed, and it was now necessary to allow the peasants to dispose of the greater part of their surplus produce at their own discretion. This would make it possible to revive agriculture and trade, to restore industry, to improve supplies to the towns and to create a new foundation, an economic foundation, for the alliance of the workers and peasants.

But there were groups within the Party that tried to obstruct the adoption of the new policies. At the end of 1920, these anti-Party groups forced a controversy on the Party, known as the trade union discussion. Actually this discussion was of much broader import than the trade union question. The real point at issue was the policy to be adopted towards the peasantry, the policy of the Party towards the mass of non-Party workers, and the Party's approach to the masses in the new situation generally. The Trotskyites proposed to "tighten up the screws" of War

Communism. Their treasonable policy of naked coercion and dictation was designed to set the non-Party worker masses against the Party, and to endanger the very existence of the Soviet regime. Their lead was followed by other anti-Party groups, such as the "Workers' Opposition," the "Democratic Centralists" and the "Left Communists."

Shoulder to shoulder with Lenin, Stalin consistently pursued and upheld the Party line, breaking down the obstructions of all these enemies of the Party. He directed the organization of the fight against the anti-Leninist groups during the trade union discussion, rallying the Party around Lenin's platform. It was Stalin who received the reports on the progress of the fight for the Party line in the various localities. It was he who sent regular reports to the *Pravda* on the results of the discussion in the local organizations, results which signalized a victory for the Party and the defeat of the anti-Leninist groups.

An important factor in securing the victory of the Party line and in rallying the Party around Lenin and the Leninist majority on the Central Committee was the publication in *Pravda*, on January 19, 1921, of Stalin's article, "Our Differences." Lenin and Stalin together defended the unity of the Party against all attacks of the anti-Party factions and groups.

Thus, it was united on Lenin's principles that the Party came to its Tenth Congress, which met in March 1921, to discuss the next steps in the victorious advance of the revolution. The Congress reviewed the trade union discussion, and by an overwhelming majority endorsed Lenin's platform. It adopted the momentous decision to replace the surplus-appropriation system by a tax in kind, and to introduce the New Economic Policy, of which Lenin was the author and inspiration. The adoption of the New Economic Policy ensured a durable alliance of the working class and the peasantry for the building of Socialism.

This same prime object was served by the decision of the Congress on the national question. The report on "The Immediate Tasks of the Party in Connection with the National Problem" was made by Stalin.

Stalin's report, and the Congress resolution, gave a clear and precise formulation of the fundamental practical measures needed to solve the national problem. National oppression had been abolished, Stalin declared, but that was not enough. The evil heritage of the past had to be abolished—the economic, political

and cultural backwardness of the formerly oppressed peoples; they had to be helped to catch up with Central Russia. Stalin called upon the Party to combat dominant-nation chauvinism, Great-Russian chauvinism, which was the chief danger, and likewise local nationalism.

At its Eleventh Congress (March 1922) the Party reviewed the results of the first year of the New Economic Policy. These results were such as to entitle Lenin to declare at the Congress:

“For a year we have been retreating. In the name of the Party we must now call a halt. The purpose pursued by the retreat has been achieved. This period is drawing, or has drawn, to a close. Now our purpose is different—to regroup our forces.” (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. IX, p. 340.)

The historic tasks set by Lenin at the Congress had now to be carried out. On Lenin's motion, the Plenum of the Central Committee which met at the close of the Congress elected Stalin, Lenin's faithful disciple and associate, General Secretary of the Central Committee, a post at which he has remained ever since.

The wound sustained by Lenin in the attempt made on his life in 1918, and the constant strain of overwork, undermined his health, and from the end of 1921 he was forced to absent himself from his work more and more frequently. The whole burden of guiding the affairs of the Party fell upon the shoulders of Stalin.

At this period Stalin was busily engaged in the great work of forming the national Soviet republics, and then of amalgamating all the Soviet republics into one federal state—the U.S.S.R. On December 30, 1922, the First All-Union Congress of Soviets, on the motion of Lenin and Stalin, passed the historic decision on the voluntary amalgamation of the Soviet nations to form the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—the U.S.S.R. In his report at the Congress Stalin said:

“Comrades, this day marks a turning point in the history of the Soviet government. It places a landmark between the old period, now past, when the Soviet republics, although they acted in common, yet each followed its own path and was concerned primarily with its own preservation, and the new period, already begun, when an end is being put to the isolated existence of each of the Soviet republics, when the republics are being amalgamated into a single federal state in order successfully to cope with economic disruption, and when the Soviet Government is concerned not only with its preservation, but with developing into an

important international power, capable of influencing the international situation and of modifying it in the interests of the toilers." (J. Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, p. 114).

The formation of the U.S.S.R. was a cardinal victory for the national policy of Lenin and Stalin. It was built on the unshakable foundation of the new confidence gained in the great Russian nation by the peoples formerly oppressed by tsardom, on the firm foundation of the mutual friendship of the peoples of the Soviet land.

In April 1923 the Party held its Twelfth Congress. This was the first congress since the October Socialist Revolution that Lenin did not attend, being prevented by illness. The work of the Congress was guided by Stalin. Its decisions embodied the recommendations made by Lenin in his latest articles and letters. The Congress administered a vigorous rebuff to those who sought to represent NEP as a retreat from Socialist principles and who would have the country place its neck under the yoke of capitalism. It branded the proposals of the Trotskyites and Bukharinites as treacherous and capitulatory.

At this Congress Stalin made the report on the work of the Central Committee, and another on "National Factors in Party and State Development." In his first report he gave a broad picture of the Party's activities, of its growth, and of the growing strength of the transmission belts from the Party to the masses (the trade unions, the Y.C.L., the Soviets, etc.), reviewed the results of two years of NEP and indicated the lines of further development. Concluding his report, he said: "Our Party has remained solid and united; it has stood the test of a momentous turn, and is marching on with flying colours."

The national question was one of the principal items at the Congress. In his report on this question Stalin stressed the tremendous international significance of the Soviet national policy, and pointed out that the subject nations of the East and the West looked on the Soviet Union as a model solution of the national problem. He said that energetic measures were needed to put an end to economic and cultural inequality among the peoples of the Soviet Union, and called upon the Party to put up a determined fight against Great-Russian chauvinism and local nationalism, which had gained ground with the partial revival of capitalism. He denounced the Georgian nationalist deviators, who were being supported by the Trotskyites.

Hardly had the Twelfth Party Congress come to a close when a serious menace to the Soviet Union loomed on the horizon. The arch-reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie who had come to power in Britain and France, true to their policy of intervention in Soviet affairs, tried to organize a new crusade against the Soviet Union. But under Stalin's leadership the Party emerged from this critical situation with flying colours and gained a resounding victory on the diplomatic front. By 1924 all the bigger European capitalist states had changed their tune from threats and ultimatums to recognition of the U.S.S.R. "The fact that we emerged from our difficulties then without detriment to our cause," Stalin said later on, "undoubtedly shows that Comrade Lenin's disciples had already learned a thing or two from their master." (*On the Opposition.*)

On January 21, 1924, Lenin, the leader and founder of the Bolshevik Party, the leader of the working people of the whole world, passed away in the village of Gorki, near Moscow. The banner of Lenin, the banner of the Party and the Comintern, was taken up and carried on by Stalin—the finest son of the Bolshevik Party, Lenin's worthy successor and the great continuator of Lenin's cause.

At a special memorial session of the Second All-Union Congress of Soviets, which met on January 26 to honour the memory of Lenin, Stalin made a solemn vow in the name of the Party:

"We Communists are people of a special mould. We are made of a special stuff. We are those who form the army of the great prolétarian strategist, the army of Comrade Lenin. There is nothing higher than the honour of belonging to this army. There is nothing higher than the title of member of the Party whose founder and leader was Comrade Lenin. . . .

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to hold high and guard the purity of the great title of member of the Party. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will fulfil your behest with credit! . . .

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to guard the unity of our Party as the apple of our eye. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that this behest, too, we will fulfil with credit! . . .

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to guard and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will spare no effort to fulfil this behest, too, with credit! . . .

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to strengthen with all our might the alliance of the workers and the peasants. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that this behest, too, we will fulfil with credit! . . .

"Comrade Lenin untiringly urged upon us the necessity of maintaining the voluntary union of the nations of our country, the necessity for fraternal co-operation among them within the framework of the Union of Republics.

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to consolidate and extend the Union of Republics. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that this behest, too, we will fulfil with credit! . . .

"Time and again did Lenin point out to us that the strengthening of the Red Army and the improvement of its condition is one of the most important tasks of our Party. . . . Let us vow then, comrades, that we will spare no effort to strengthen our Red Army and our Red Navy. . . .

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to remain faithful to the principles of the Communist International. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will not spare our lives to strengthen and extend the Union of the toilers of the whole world—the Communist International! . . ." (Stalin on Lenin, pp. 27-32.)

This was the vow made by the Bolshevik Party to its leader, Lenin, whose memory will live through the ages. And under Stalin's leadership, the Party has faithfully adhered to its vow.

The enemies of Socialism took advantage of Lenin's illness and then of his death to try to turn the Party from the Leninist path and thus pave the way for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. Foremost in the attack on the Party were Trotsky, that arch-enemy of Leninism, and his henchmen. The Trotskyites forced a new discussion on the Party. In the bitter fight that ensued, Stalin laid bare the underlying political meaning of the Trotskyites' attacks and showed that it was the life and death of the Party that was at stake. He mustered the Party forces for the defeat of Trotskyism.

In January 1924 the Party held its Thirteenth Conference, which, after hearing a report by Stalin reviewing the discussion, emphatically condemned the Trotskyites. The decisions of the Conference were endorsed by the Thirteenth Party Congress in May 1924 and by the Fifth Congress of the Communist International in the summer of the same year.

"It is the duty of the Party to bury *Trotskyism as an ideological trend*," said Stalin at that period, and he made it clear to the Party that under the existing conditions Trotskyism was the chief danger.

"Today," he declared, "after the victory of the October Revolution, under the present conditions of NEP, Trotskyism must be regarded as the most dangerous trend, for it strives to instill a lack of faith in the forces of our revolution, a lack of faith in the alliance of the workers and peasants, a lack of faith in the conversion of NEP Russia into a Socialist Russia."

Stalin made it clear that unless Trotskyism was ideologically demolished, the continuation of the victorious advance towards Socialism could not be ensured. "Unless Trotskyism is defeated," he declared, "it will be impossible to achieve victory under the conditions of NEP, it will be impossible to convert present-day Russia into a Socialist Russia."

In the battle against Trotskyism, Stalin united the Party around the Central Committee and mobilized it to continue the struggle for the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union.

A most effective weapon in demolishing Trotskyism ideologically, and in defending, explaining and developing Leninism was Stalin's theoretical work, *The Foundations of Leninism*, published in 1924. A masterly exposition and profound theoretical substantiation of Leninism, it armed the Bolsheviks, as it arms them today all over the world, with the trenchant weapon of Marxist-Leninist theory.

This great work explains the principles of Leninism, that is, of everything new and distinctive associated with the name of Lenin, everything that he contributed to the development of Marxist theory. The mere fact that the problems of Leninism had been generalized, that Lenin's entire ideological legacy had been systematized and examined from the angle of a new period in history, was in itself a tremendous stride in the development of the science of Marxism-Leninism. In this work every aspect of Lenin's teachings is treated from a high theoretical level. We are given a classical definition of Leninism, and are shown how Lenin developed Marxism in conformity with the conditions of a new era, the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

The restoration of the national economy was nearing completion. Both the foreign and home affairs of the Soviet Union

were now on a different footing. In the capitalist countries a temporary ebb in the tide of revolution and a temporary, partial stabilization of capitalism had set in. In the U.S.S.R. the pre-war level of production had been reached. It was now necessary to advance farther. And the question arose in all its urgency—what were the prospects for further development, what would be the destiny of Socialism in the Soviet Union?

With the farsightedness of genius, Stalin defined these prospects and outlined the definite paths for the further development of the revolution.

“My wish for the workers of the Dynamo Plant, and for the workers of all Russia,” he wrote, “is that industry may forge ahead, that the number of proletarians in Russia may increase in the near future to twenty or thirty million; that collective farming in the countryside may thrive and gain predominance over individual farming; that a highly developed industry and collective farming may finally weld the proletarians of the factories and the labourers of the soil into a single Socialist army; that the victory in Russia may be crowned by victory all over the world.”

Stalin drew general theoretical conclusions from the experience of the great October Socialist Revolution and from the experience of the first years of Socialist construction in the midst of a capitalist encirclement, and upheld and developed Lenin's doctrine of the victory of Socialism in one country.

In December 1924 appeared Stalin's “The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists,” in which, explaining and substantiating Lenin's thesis regarding the victory of Socialism in one country, he showed that this question must be viewed from two aspects: the domestic and the international. The domestic aspect involved the class relations within the country that was building Socialism; the international aspect involved the relations between the U.S.S.R.—so far the only Socialist country—and the surrounding capitalist world. The workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. were fully capable of coping with the internal difficulties alone; they were fully capable of vanquishing their own bourgeoisie economically and building up a complete Socialist society. But so long as the country was surrounded by capitalist states, the danger of capitalist intervention and of the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. would persist. In order to eliminate this danger, it would be necessary to destroy the

capitalist encirclement, and that could be accomplished only as a result of a victorious proletarian revolution in at least several countries. Only then could the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. be considered complete and final.

These theses were embodied in the historic resolution of the Fourteenth Party Conference (April 1925), which endorsed the Lenin-Stalin line of working for the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. as a law of the Party, binding on all its members.

In December 1925 the Party held its Fourteenth Congress. In the political report which Stalin delivered on behalf of the Central Committee, he drew a vivid picture of the growing political and economic might of the Soviet Union. But, he said, these achievements were not enough, for the country was still a backward, agrarian country. In order to ensure the economic independence of the country and strengthen its defensive power, and in order to create an economic base for the victory of Socialism, the country had to be converted from an agrarian into an industrial country.

Addressing the Fourteenth Congress, the leader of the Party declared:

"The conversion of our country from an agrarian into an industrial country, able to produce the machinery it needs by its own efforts—that is the essence, the basis of our general line."

Zinoviev and Kamenev, those defenders of capitalism, tried to oppose to Stalin's plan of Socialist industrialization a "plan" of their own, under which the U.S.S.R. was to remain an agrarian country. This was a treacherous scheme to enslave the U.S.S.R., to deliver it, bound hand and foot, to the imperialist vultures.

Stalin tore the mask from these despicable capitulators and exposed their Trotskyite-Menshevik souls.

The prime task of the Party, Stalin emphasized at the Fourteenth Congress, was to ensure a durable alliance between the working class and the middle peasantry for the construction of Socialism.

The Congress endorsed Socialist industrialization and the fight for the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. as the fundamental task of the Party.

Shortly after the Congress, at the beginning of 1926, Stalin published his book, *On the Problems of Leninism*. In this historic work, he demolished the Zinovievite "philosophy" of liquidation

and capitulation and proved that the policy adopted by the Fourteenth Party Congress, namely, the Socialist industrialization of the country and the construction of a Socialist society, was the only correct one. He armed the Party and the working class with an indomitable faith in the victory of Socialist construction.

Under Stalin's guidance, the Bolshevik Party, mustering its forces and resources, and brushing aside all capitulators and sceptics, led the country to a new historical phase—the phase of Socialist industrialization.

VIII

To industrialize in so brief a period of history a country so vast and at the same time so economically backward as was the Soviet Union at that time was a task of tremendous difficulty. It was necessary to build up a large number of new industries, industries unknown in tsarist Russia. It was necessary to create a defence industry, nonexistent in old Russia. It was necessary to build plants for the production of modern agricultural machinery, such as the old countryside had never heard of. All this demanded enormous funds. In capitalist countries such funds were obtained by the merciless exploitation of the people, by the plunder of colonies and dependent countries and by foreign loans. But the Soviet Union could not resort to such infamous means; and as to foreign loans, the capitalists had closed this source to the Soviet Union. The only way was to find these funds at home.

Guided by Lenin's precepts, Stalin developed the *doctrine of the Socialist industrialization* of the Soviet Union. He showed that: (1) industrialization meant not merely increasing industrial output, but developing heavy industry, and above all its mainspring—machine-building; for only a heavy industry, including a domestic machine-building industry, could provide the material basis for Socialism and render the Land of Socialism independent of the capitalist world; (2) the expropriation of the landlords and capitalists as a result of the October Socialist Revolution, the abolition of the private ownership of the land, the factories, the banks, etc., and their conversion into public property had created a mighty source of Socialist accumulation for the development of industry; (3) Socialist industrialization differs fundamentally from capitalist industrialization: the latter is based on the seizure and plunder of colonies, on military victories, on usurious loans, and on the merciless exploitation of the labouring masses and colonial

peoples; Socialist industrialization is based on the public ownership of the means of production, on the accumulation and husbanding of the values created by the labour of the workers and peasants; it is necessarily accompanied by a steady rise in the standard of living of the labouring masses; (4) hence the prime tasks in the struggle for industrialization were to increase the productivity of labour, to reduce production costs, to fight for labour discipline, strict economy, etc.; (5) the building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., coupled with the labour enthusiasm of the working class, made it quite possible to achieve the necessary high speed of industrialization; (6) the reconstruction of agriculture on Socialist lines would have to be preceded by the industrialization of the country, so as to create the technical base for this reconstruction.

Armed with this clear and precise program, the working people of the Soviet Union embarked upon the Socialist industrialization of their country.

Alarmed by the progress of Socialist construction, the imperialists tried to frustrate, or at least to impede, the industrialization of the country by breaking off diplomatic and commercial relations with the U.S.S.R. (Britain), by assassinating Soviet ambassadors (Poland), by intensifying espionage and diversive activities. At home, the Trotskyites, the Zinovievites, and the remnants of other, previously defeated, anti-Party groups joined in a treasonable bloc and launched a furious attack on the Party. "Something in the nature of a united front from Chamberlain to Trotsky is being formed," said Stalin at the time. Socialist industrialization could not be successful unless the Trotsky-Zinoviev bloc were routed ideologically and organizationally. And this was done by the Party, led by Stalin. Stalin's report on "The Social-Democratic Deviation in our Party," at the Fifteenth Party Conference (November 1926), and his speech, "Once Again on the Social-Democratic Deviation in Our Party," at the Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. (December 1926), furnished the C.P.S.U.(B.) and the Communist International with the necessary ideological weapons, and ensured the solidarity and unity of the Party ranks.

The Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. stigmatized the adherents of the Trotsky-Zinoviev bloc as splitters who had sunk to downright Menshevism.

Having defeated and swept aside the despicable capitulators and defenders of capitalism, the Bolsheviks proceeded to carry on with the Socialist industrialization of the country.

There was not a single sphere or aspect of industrialization that escaped Stalin's attention. It was on his initiative that new industries were built up and formerly backward industries reconstructed and enlarged. It was he that inspired the creation of a second coal and metallurgical centre—the Kuzbas. It was he that organized and directed the numerous Socialist construction projects. The Stalingrad Tractor Works, the Dnieper Power Station, the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Works, the Urals Mechanical Engineering Works, the Rostov Agricultural Machinery Works, the Kuznetsk Coal and Iron Works, the Turkestan Siberian Railway, the Saratov Harvester Combine Works, the automobile works in Moscow and Gorky, all these and many other giant industrial plants, of which the whole country is justly proud, owed their initiation to Stalin. That is why so many of them bear his name.

The majestic and imposing edifice of Socialism that was being built in the U.S.S.R. made a profound impression on the minds of the workers of the capitalist countries. The U.S.S.R. became a veritable Mecca to which scores and hundreds of workers' delegations flocked from all parts of the world. And it was with keen interest and profound emotion that they saw how the workers, having ousted their exploiters, were building a new, Socialist society. They were interested in everything and wanted to know everything. On November 5, 1927, Comrade Stalin gave a long interview to labour delegations from Germany, France, Austria, Czechoslovakia, China, Belgium and other countries.

By the end of 1927 the decisive success of the policy of Socialist industrialization was unmistakable. The first results were summed up by the Fifteenth Party Congress, which met in December 1927. In his report, Stalin drew a vivid picture of the progress of Socialist industrialization and emphasized the need for further extending and consolidating the Socialist key positions both in town and country, and for plotting a course towards the complete elimination of capitalist elements from the national economy.

At the Congress Stalin spoke of the backwardness of agriculture as compared with industry, and indicated the way out of this situation which was jeopardizing the national economy as a whole.

"The way out," he said, "is to turn the small and scattered peasant farms into large united farms based on the common cultivation of the soil, to introduce collective cultivation of the soil on the basis of a new and higher technique. The way out is

to unite the small and dwarf peasant farms gradually but surely, not by pressure, but by example and persuasion, into large farms based on common, co-operative, collective cultivation of the soil with the use of agricultural machines and tractors and scientific methods of intensive agriculture. There is no other way out." (Quoted in the *History of the C.P.S.U.[B.]*, p. 288.)

Why did the Soviet Union adopt the course of building up collective farming?

By the time of the Fifteenth Party Congress the backwardness of agriculture, particularly of grain farming, was becoming more and more marked. The gross grain harvest was approaching the pre-war level, but the share of it actually available for the market, the amount of grain sold for the supply of the towns and the armed forces, was little more than one-third (37 per cent) of the pre-war amount. There were about twenty-five million small and dwarf peasant farms in the country. And small peasant farming was by its very nature a semi-natural form of economy, capable of supplying only an insignificant quantity of grain for the market and incapable of extending production, of employing tractors and machinery, or of increasing harvest yields. The breaking up of the peasant farms was continuing, resulting in a further decline in the amount of grain available for the market.

"There could be no doubt that if such a state of affairs in grain farming were to continue, the army and the urban population would be faced with chronic famine." (*History of the C.P.S.U.[B.]*, p. 287.)

There were two possible ways of reconstructing the country's agriculture and creating large farms capable of employing tractors and agricultural machinery and of increasing the marketable surplus of grain several times over. One was to adopt large-scale *capitalist* farming, which would have meant the ruin of the peasant masses, created mass unemployment in the cities, destroyed the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, increased the strength of the kulaks, and led to the downfall of Socialism. And it was to this disastrous course that the Right capitalists and traitors were doing their utmost to commit the Party.

The other way was to take the course of amalgamating the small peasant holdings into large *Socialist* farms, into collective farms, which would be able to use tractors and other modern machinery on an extensive scale for a rapid advancement of grain farming and a rapid increase in the marketable surplus of

grain. It is clear that the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state could only take the second course, the *collective farm* way of developing agriculture.

The Bolshevik Party was guided by Lenin's wise precept regarding the necessity of passing from small peasant farming to large-scale, collective, mechanized farming, which was alone capable of extricating the tens of millions of peasant farms from their age-old poverty.

"There is no escape from poverty for the small farm," Lenin had said.

The vital economic interests of the country, the needs of the people, demanded the adoption of collectivization. And the Bolshevik Party, led by Stalin, fully realized this vital economic need and was able to swing the peasant millions into the path of collectivization.

The Fifteenth Congress passed a resolution calling for the fullest development of collective farming. At the same time, the Congress gave instructions for the drawing up of the First Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy. Thus, in the very midst of the work of Socialist industrialization, Stalin outlined a task of equal immensity, the collectivization of agriculture. The accomplishment of this historic task entailed the most careful preparation, which for its breadth and scope may safely be compared to the preparations made for the Great October Socialist Revolution. The brilliant strategist of the proletarian revolution, boldly and unswervingly, yet cautiously and circumspectly, led the Party forward, breaking down all obstacles, keeping a vigilant eye on the manoeuvres of the class enemy and unerringly foreseeing his next actions, regrouping the forces with a masterly hand in the very course of the offensive, consolidating the positions captured, and utilizing the reserves to further the advance.

Under Stalin's leadership, the Party created all the necessary material requisites for a mass influx of the peasantry into the collective farms. An industrial base was developed to supply the countryside with machines and tractors, for the technical re-equipment of agriculture. Sufficient funds were accumulated to finance the development of collective and state farming, and some of the finest members of the Party and the working class were assigned to this work; already existing collective farms were consolidated to serve as examples of collective farming to the

individual peasants. Machine and tractor stations and state farms were set up which helped the peasants to improve their methods of farming.

Realizing that their doom was imminent, the kulaks tried to resist. In 1928 they organized a "grain strike," thinking to compel the Party, if not to capitulate, at least to retreat. In the same year a big conspiratorial organization of wreckers, consisting of bourgeois experts, was discovered in the Shakhty District of the Donbas, similar organizations being later discovered in other districts. The wreckers had criminal connections with imperialist states.

Led by Stalin, the Party adopted emergency measures against the kulaks and smashed their resistance. The wreckers were severely punished. Stalin called upon the Party to draw the necessary lessons from the Shakhty affair, the chief being that Bolshevik business executives must themselves become experts in the technique of production and that the training of new technical forces drawn from the ranks of the working class must be accelerated.

In 1928-29, when the Party launched the offensive against the kulaks, Messrs. Bukharin, Rykov, Tomskey, and their whole anti-Party gang of Right capitulators and would-be restorers of capitalism, rose up against the Party in place of the defeated Trotskyites and Zinovievites. At the same time the imperialists, relying on the capitulatory activities of the Rights, made a new attempt to involve the U.S.S.R. in war. The British and French General Staffs drew up plans for another attempt at military intervention in the U.S.S.R., to take place in 1929 or 1930.

Just as the victory of the Great Socialist Revolution in October 1917 would have been impossible if the capitulators and scabs had not been put to rout, so the victory of Socialism in the countryside would have been impossible if the Right capitulators had not been routed in 1928-29. A most effective contribution to the victory of the Party over the Bukharin-Rykov anti-Party group was Stalin's speeches on "The Right Danger in the C.P.S.U.(B.)" at the Plenum of the Moscow Committee and the Moscow Control Commission of the Party in October 1928, and on "The Right Deviation in the C.P.S.U.(B.)" at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party in April 1929.

In these speeches he utterly exposed the Rights as enemies of Leninism, and showed that they were the agents of the kulaks in the Party.

Stalin rallied the whole Party for the fight against the Rights and led it in the assault against the last stronghold of capitalist exploitation in the country. Stalin's genius, his inflexible will and brilliant perspicacity advanced the revolution to a new and higher stage. In "A Year of Great Change," the historic article he wrote in 1929 on the occasion of the twelfth anniversary of the October Revolution, he said:

"The past year witnessed a great change on all fronts of Socialist construction. The change expressed itself, and is still expressing itself, in a determined *offensive* of Socialism against the capitalist elements in town and country. The characteristic feature of this offensive is that it has already brought us a number of decisive *successes* in the principal spheres of the Socialist reconstruction of our national economy." (J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, p. 294.)

The Party secured a radical improvement in the productivity of labour. In the main, it solved one of the most difficult problems of socialist industrialization—the problem of accumulating financial resources for the development of heavy industry. It succeeded in bringing about a radical improvement in the development of Soviet agriculture and of the Soviet peasantry. The collective farm movement began to advance by leaps and bounds, even surpassing large-scale industry in its rate of development. It was becoming a mass movement.

"The new and decisive feature of the present collective farm movement," Stalin wrote, "is that the peasants are joining the collective farms not in separate groups, as was formerly the case, but in whole villages, whole volosts, whole districts, and even whole areas. And what does that mean? It means that *the middle peasant has joined the collective farm movement*. This is the basis of that radical change in the development of agriculture which represents the most important achievement of the Soviet Government. . . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 303.)

Thus, under Stalin's guidance, the way was paved for the historic transition from the policy of restricting and squeezing out the kulak elements to the policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class, on the basis of solid collectivization.

IX

On December 27, 1929, Stalin addressed a conference of Marxist students of the agrarian question. He exposed the bourgeois theory of "equilibrium" between the various sectors of the national economy, and demolished the anti-Marxist theory of "spontaneity" in Socialist construction and the anti-Marxist theory of the "stability" of small peasant farming. Disposing of all these bourgeois, anti-Marxist, Right-opportunist theories, he proceeded to make a profound analysis of collective farming as a Socialist form of economy and proved the necessity for a transition to solid collectivization, and, on this basis, to the elimination of the kulaks as a class.

At the Eleventh Party Congress Lenin had already spoken of the last, decisive fight against Russian capitalism, which was continually springing up from small peasant economy. But at that time it was impossible to say exactly when that fight would take place. Now Stalin proved with his characteristic scientific cogency that the moment for the last, decisive fight against domestic capitalism had already arrived. With his masterly command of dialectics, he showed that the elimination of the kulaks as a class was not just a continuation of the former policy of restricting and squeezing out the kulaks, but a distinct *turn* in the policy of the Party.

"While the confiscation of the landed estates was the *first* step of the October Revolution in the countryside," it was stated in the resolution of the Sixteenth Party Congress, "the adoption of collective farming is the *second*, and, moreover, a decisive, step, marking a highly important stage in the process of laying the foundations of Socialist society in the U.S.S.R."

The peasantry came to adopt Socialist forms of husbandry because economic necessity demanded a change to large-scale co-operative farming, to collective, mechanized agriculture. For

a number of years the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government had been fostering new productive forces in the countryside, introducing modern machinery—tractors, harvester combines, etc.—and training experts for Socialist farming, millions of people who had mastered modern technique.

Congratulating the workers of the Stalingrad Tractor Works on its opening day (June 17, 1930), Stalin wrote:

“Greetings and congratulations to the workers and executives of the mammoth Red Banner tractor plant, the first in the U.S.S.R., on their victory. The 50,000 tractors which you are to produce for our country every year will be 50,000 projectiles, shattering the old, bourgeois world and clearing the way for the new, Socialist system in the countryside. My best wishes for the fulfilment of your program.”

The new productive forces which had been created in the countryside inevitably gave rise to new, *Socialist* relations between man and man.

On the basis of a thorough scientific analysis of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of Socialism, Stalin demonstrated that the transition to collectivization could not be expected to take place as a simple and peaceful influx of the peasants into the collective farms, but would be accompanied by a struggle of the peasant masses against the kulaks. The kulaks would have to be defeated in open battle in full view of the peasantry. Hence solid collectivization inevitably entailed the elimination of the kulaks as a class.

Stalin's views on the necessity of a turn in Party policy from restricting the exploiting proclivities of the kulaks to eliminating the kulaks as a class formed the basis of the resolution on “The Rate of Collectivization and State Measures to Assist the Development of Collective Farms,” adopted by the Central Committee on January 5, 1930.

The enemies of the Party did their utmost to frustrate the Party's policy of collectivization. These inimical attempts found expression, not only in open attacks on collectivization by the Right capitulators, but also in “Leftist” distortions of the Party line, in violations of the rates of collectivization laid down by the Party and of the Leninist-Stalinist principle that the formation of collective farms must be voluntary, in blockheaded attempts to skip the artel form and pass straight to the commune, and in compulsory socialization of dwellings, small livestock, poultry, and the like.

The enemies at home and abroad, the interventionists and their agents, hoped that these "Leftist," not to say deliberately provocative, practices, would incense the peasantry against the Soviet Government. The General Staffs of the imperialist powers were already fixing the date for a new war of intervention. But the leader of the Party saw the new danger in time.

On March 2, 1930, by decision of the Central Committee, Stalin published his article, "Dizzy With Success," in which he denounced the "Leftist" excesses as jeopardizing the collective farm movement. "The article laid the utmost emphasis on the principle that the formation of collective farms must be voluntary, and on the necessity of making allowances for the diversity of conditions in the various districts of the U.S.S.R. when determining the pace and methods of collectivization. Comrade Stalin reiterated that the chief form of the collective farm movement was the agricultural artel. . . . Comrade Stalin's article was of the utmost political moment. It helped the Party organizations to rectify their mistakes and dealt a severe blow to the enemies of the Soviet Government who had been hoping to take advantage of the distortions of policy to set the peasants against the Soviet Government." (*History of the C.P.S.U.[B.]*, p. 308.)

While dealing a crushing blow at the "Leftist" distortions, and at the same shattering the hopes of the interventionists, Stalin, as the teacher of the masses, explained to the Party and non-Party cadres wherein lies the art of leadership.

"The art of leadership," he wrote, "is a serious matter. One must not lag behind the movement, because to do so is to become isolated from the masses. But neither must one rush ahead, for to rush ahead is to lose contact with the masses. He who wants to lead a movement and at the same time keep in touch with the vast masses must wage a fight on two fronts—against those who lag behind and against those who rush on ahead." (J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, p. 338.)

On April 3, 1930, Stalin followed this up with another article, his "Reply to Collective Farm Comrades," addressed to the collective farmers as a body, in which he exposed the root cause of the mistakes in the peasant question and the major mistakes committed in the collective farm movement, and, with irresistible logic, explained the essential laws of an offensive on the class war front. It is impossible to conduct a successful offensive, he pointed out, unless the positions already captured are consolidated,

the forces regrouped, the front supplied with reserves, and the rear brought up. The opportunists did not understand the class nature of the offensive: against which class, and in alliance with which class, was it being conducted? It was not any kind of offensive we needed, Stalin wrote, but an offensive in alliance with the middle peasants against the kulaks.

Thanks to Stalin's guidance, the distortions were rectified and a firm basis was created for a mighty advance in the collective farm movement. Headed by Stalin, the Party solved what was, after the conquest of power, the most difficult problem of the proletarian revolution, the problem of placing the small peasant farms on Socialist lines and of eliminating the kulaks, the largest of the exploiting classes.

"This was a profound revolution, a leap from an old qualitative state of society to a new qualitative state, equivalent in its consequences to the Revolution of October 1917.

"The distinguishing feature of this revolution is that it was accomplished *from above*, on the initiative of the state, and directly supported *from below* by the millions of peasants, who were fighting to throw off kulak bondage and to live in freedom in the collective farms." (*History of the C.P.S.U.[B.]*, p. 305.)

Guided by Lenin's pronouncements on the necessity of passing from small peasant farming to large-scale, co-operative, collective farming, and taking Lenin's co-operative plan as a basis, Stalin worked out and gave practical effect to *the doctrine of the collectivization of agriculture*. His new contributions to this sphere were the following: (1) he made a thorough analysis of the question of collective farming as a form of Socialist economy; (2) he showed that the main link in collective farm development at the present stage is the agricultural *artel*, for it is the most rational and the one most comprehensible to the peasants, making it possible to combine the personal interests of the collective farmers with their collective interests, to adapt their personal interests to the public interests; (3) he showed that the policy of restricting and squeezing out the kulaks must be changed to one of eliminating them as a class, on the basis of solid collectivization; (4) he revealed the significance of the machine and tractor stations as a base for the Socialist reorganization of agriculture and as a means by which the Socialist state rendered assistance to agriculture and the peasantry.

In February 1930, in response to numerous requests from

organizations and from general meetings of workers, peasants and Red Army men, the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. conferred upon Stalin a second Order of the Red Banner for his outstanding services in the construction of Socialism.

The Sixteenth Party Congress, which sat from June 26 to July 13, 1930, is known as the congress of the sweeping offensive of Socialism along the whole front. In his report, Stalin explained the significance of this sweeping offensive of Socialism against the capitalist elements along the whole front, and showed that the Soviet Union *had already entered the period of Socialism*.

Reporting to the Congress on the results so far achieved in the work of industrializing the country and collectivizing agriculture, he went on to outline the new tasks that confronted the country in the new period of development. While the Soviet Union had overtaken and outstripped the advanced capitalist countries in *rate* of development, it was still far behind them as regards the *level* of industrial output. Hence the need for a further acceleration of the rate of development in order to overtake and outstrip the capitalist countries in level of industrial output as well. Stalin then proceeded to explain what the Party must do so as to ensure the fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan in four years.

The working people of the whole country applied themselves enthusiastically to the accomplishment of the gigantic tasks set by the Congress. Socialist emulation and shock work developed on a wide scale. Already on the eve of the Sixteenth Congress no less than 2,000,000 workers were taking part in the Socialist emulation movement, while over a million workers belonged to shock brigades.

"The most remarkable feature of emulation," Comrade Stalin said at the Sixteenth Congress, "is the radical revolution it brings with it in men's views of labour, for it transforms labour from a disgraceful and painful burden, as it was regarded before, into a matter of *honour*, a matter of *glory*, a matter of *valour* and *heroism*. There is not, nor can there be, anything similar to it in capitalist countries." (J. Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. II, p. 303.)

The fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan called for the reconstruction of every branch of the national economy on the basis of a new technique, of modern machinery and methods. Technique was becoming a matter of decisive importance. In this connection, the leader of the Party, in his speech on "The Tasks of Business Executives" at the First All-Union Conference of Managers of

Socialist Industry, on February 4, 1931, put forward a new slogan: "Bolsheviks must master technique"; "In the period of reconstruction technique decides everything."

At a time when the Party was engaged in the strenuous work of building Socialism, it became more important than ever to educate the members and candidate members of the Party in the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, to study the historical experience of the Bolshevik Party, and to wage a fight against all falsifiers of the history of the Party.

In November 1931 Stalin published his well-known letter to the magazine *Proletarskaya Revolutsia*. Its effect in consolidating the ideological unity of the Party has been immense. In this letter Stalin denounced the Trotskyite falsifiers of the history of Bolshevism, and pointed out that Leninism had originated, matured and grown strong in a relentless struggle against opportunism of all shades, that the Bolsheviks were the only revolutionary organization in the world to have utterly routed the opportunists and centrists and driven them from its ranks. He convincingly proved that Trotskyism is the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, a force working against Communism, against the Soviet system, and against the construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

The First Five-Year Plan was fulfilled by the beginning of 1933—ahead of schedule. At the Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Party, held in January 1933, Stalin reported on "The Results of the First Five-Year Plan." The U.S.S.R., he said, had been transformed from an agrarian into an industrial country, from a small-peasant country into a country with an advanced, Socialist agriculture, conducted on the largest scale in the world. The exploiting classes had been dislodged from their positions in production. The remnants of them had scattered over the face of the country and were carrying on the fight against the Soviet Union by stealth. It was therefore essential to heighten vigilance, to take the strictest measures for the protection of Socialist property—the foundation of the Soviet system—and to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat to the utmost.

In another speech at this Plenum—on "Work in the Rural Districts"—Stalin made a profound analysis of the defects in Party work in the countryside and indicated an exhaustive program of measures for the consolidation of the collective farm system.

A new task now faced the Party—that of consolidating the collective farms, properly organizing their work, making them Bolshevik collective farms, and purging them of hostile kulak elements and wreckers. For this purpose Stalin proposed that political departments be set up in the machine and tractor stations and the state farms. This was done, and in the space of two years (1933-34) the political departments of the machine and tractor stations did a tremendous amount to consolidate the collective farms.

At the first All-Union Congress of Collective Farm Shock Workers, held on February 19, 1933, Stalin proclaimed the slogan: "Make the collective farms Bolshevik and the collective farmers prosperous."

"Only one thing is now needed for the collective farmers to become prosperous," Stalin said, "and that is for them to work in the collective farms conscientiously; to make efficient use of the tractors and machines; to make efficient use of the draught cattle; to cultivate the land efficiently and to cherish collective farm property." (J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, p. 464.)

Stalin's speech made a profound impression on the millions of collective farmers and became a practical program of action for the collective farms.

Speaking on the activities of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) in Leningrad on the eve of the Seventeenth Congress of the Party, Sergei Kirov, that inspired tribune of the revolution and one of the most popular figures in the Party, paid the following tribute to the great organizer of the Socialist victories of the working class:

"Comrades, when one speaks of the services of our Party, of its achievements, one cannot help speaking of *the greatest organizer of the gigantic victories we have achieved. I refer to Comrade Stalin.*

"I must say that he is a truly accomplished, a truly perfect successor and continuer of the cause committed to our care by the great founder of our Party, whom we lost ten years ago.

"It is not easy to grasp the figure of Stalin in all its gigantic proportions. *In these latter years, ever since we have had to carry on our work without Lenin, there has been no major development in our labours, no innovation, slogan or trend of policy of any importance of which Comrade Stalin was not the author. All the major work—and this the Party should know—*

is guided by the instructions, the initiative and the leadership of Comrade Stalin. The decision of all important problems of international policy is guided by his recommendations. And not only important problems, but even what might seem third-rate, even tenth-rate problems interest him, if they affect the workers, the peasants, the labouring people generally of our country.

"I must say that this applies not only to the construction of Socialism as a whole, but even to special aspects of our work. For instance, if we take the defence of our country, it must be emphatically stressed that it is entirely to Stalin that we are indebted for all the achievements which I have mentioned.

"The mighty will and organizational genius of this man ensure our Party the timely accomplishment of the big historical turns involved in the victorious construction of Socialism.

"Take Comrade Stalin's slogans—'Make the collective farmer prosperous,' 'Make the collective farms Bolshevik,' 'Master technique,' and his six historic conditions—all that goes to direct the construction of Socialism at the present stage of our work emanates from this man, and all that we have achieved in the period of the First Five-Year Plan has been due to his directions."

The Seventeenth Congress of the Party, which met at the beginning of 1934, and which is known as the *Congress of Victors*, was guided by Stalin. In his report to this Congress he reviewed the historic victories of the Party, the victories of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

He spoke of the success of the policy of industrialization, solid collectivization, and the elimination of the kulaks as a class; he spoke of the triumph of the doctrine that Socialism could be built in one country. The Socialist formation, he showed, now held undivided sway over the entire national economy, while all the other social-economic formations had gone to the bottom. The collective farm system had triumphed finally and completely.

But Stalin warned the Party that the fight was by no means over. Although the enemies had been smashed, survivals of their ideology still lingered and often made their influence felt. The U.S.S.R. was still encircled by a capitalist world, which tried to foster the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people and to utilize them for its own ends.

The survivals of capitalism in the minds of men, Stalin pointed out, were much more tenacious in the sphere of the national question than in any other. In reply to the question—which

deviation in the national question was the major danger: the deviation towards Great-Russian nationalism or the deviation towards local nationalism?—Stalin said that under present conditions “the major danger is the deviation against which we have ceased to fight, thereby allowing it to grow into a danger to the state.” (J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, p. 526.)

Hence the need for systematic effort to overcome the survivals of capitalism in the minds of men, for systematic criticism of the ideologies of all trends hostile to Leninism, for the tireless propaganda of Leninism, for raising the ideological level of the Party members, and for the internationalist education of the working people. He laid special stress on the need for greater vigilance on the part of the Party:

“ . . . We must not lull the Party,” he said, “but sharpen its vigilance; we must not lull it to sleep, but keep it ready for action; not disarm it, but arm it; not demobilize it, but hold it in a state of mobilization for the fulfilment of the Second Five-Year Plan.” (*Ibid.*, p. 536.)

Stalin in this report outlined a concrete program for the future work of the Party in the sphere of industry, agriculture, trade and transport. He also outlined a program of organizational measures (training of personnel, checking up on fulfilment, etc.). The task, he said, was to raise “organizational leadership to the level of political leadership.” He further outlined a program in the sphere of culture, science, education and the ideological struggle. On the motion of Sergei Kirov, the Seventeenth Congress endorsed Stalin’s report *in toto* as a Congress decision, as a Party law, as the Party’s program of work for the coming period. The Congress also endorsed the Second Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy.

X

The success of the general line of the Party was expressed in the continued and steady progress of the country's industry and agriculture. In the sphere of industry, the Second Stalinist Five-Year Plan was fulfilled by April 1937, ahead of schedule—in four years and three months. With the completion of the reconstruction of industry and agriculture, the national economy of the Soviet Union found itself equipped with the most advanced technique in the world. Industry had received a vast quantity of machines, machine tools and other implements of production. Agriculture had received first-class Soviet tractors, harvester combines and other complex agricultural machines. The transport system had received first-class motor vehicles, locomotives, ships and airplanes. The armed forces had received excellent technical equipment—artillery, tanks, airplanes and warships.

This titanic labour of technical re-equipment of the national economy was directly guided by Stalin. The introduction of new makes of machines or of important technical innovations and inventions has always had his close attention and practical assistance. He personally acquainted himself with all the details of the work of technical reconstruction of industry and agriculture, inspiring and enthusing workers and engineers, industrial managers and central administrators, inventors and designers. He displayed particular interest in the technical equipment of the Red Army, air force and navy, as a result of which the Red armed forces have become an invincible power and a formidable warning to the enemies of Socialism.

All this new machinery, all this mighty technique, required trained people capable of harnessing it and extracting from it all that it could give. Attention had to be emphatically drawn to the need for mastering this new technique, for training large numbers of people capable of making full use of it. And in this

respect, Stalin's address to the graduates from the Red Army Academies in May 1935 was of exclusive importance.

"In order to set technique going," he said, "and to utilize it to the full, we need people who have mastered technique, we need cadres capable of mastering and utilizing this technique according to all the rules of the art. Without people who have mastered technique, technique is dead. In the charge of people who have mastered technique, technique can and should perform miracles. If in our first-class mills and factories, in our state farms and collective farms, in our transport system and in our Red Army we had sufficient cadres capable of harnessing this technique, our country would secure results three times and four times as great as at present. . . .

"It is time to realize that of all the valuable capital the world possesses, the most valuable and most decisive is people, cadres. It must be realized that, under our present conditions, '*cadres decide everything.*' If we have good and numerous cadres in industry, agriculture, transport, and the army, our country will be invincible. If we do not have such cadres, we shall be lame on both legs." (*Ibid.*, pp. 543, 544.)

Stalin's speech served as a powerful stimulus to the solution of one of the cardinal problems of Socialist construction—the problem of cadres. The effect of this speech by the leader of the Party was not only to direct the attention of all Party and Soviet organizations to the problem of personnel; it also awakened a wide response among the masses, and aroused in them a new labour enthusiasm.

A mighty force now arose from the initiative of advanced rank-and-file workers—the *Stakhanov movement*. Originating in the coal industry of the Donbas, it spread with incredible speed to all parts of the country, and to all branches of the national economy. Tens and hundreds of thousands of heroes of labour, in industry, in the transport system and in agriculture, set an example in the mastery of technique and in Socialist productivity of labour.

Stalin drew the attention of the whole Party to the unique significance of this new movement. Speaking at the First All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites, in November 1935, he said that the Stakhanov movement "is the expression of a new wave of Socialist emulation, a new and higher stage of Socialist emulation. . . . The significance of the Stakhanov movement lies in the fact that it is a movement which is smashing the old tech-

nical standards, because they are inadequate, which in a number of cases is surpassing the productivity of labour of the foremost capitalist countries, and is thus creating the practical possibility of further consolidating Socialism in our country, the possibility of converting our country into the most prosperous of all countries." (*Ibid.*, pp. 546, 547-48.)

He showed that this movement was paving the way to Communism, that it bore within it the seed of a cultural and technical advancement of the working class which would in the end lead to the obliteration of the distinction between mental and manual labour.

Speaking of the conditions that had made the Stakhanov movement possible, he showed wherein lies the might and invincibility of the revolution.

"Our revolution," he said, "is the only one which not only smashed the fetters of capitalism and brought the people freedom, but also succeeded in creating the material conditions of a prosperous life for the people. Therein lies the strength and invincibility of our revolution." (*Ibid.*, p. 552.)

Stalin personally guided the work of the All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites and of other conferences of foremost workers in industry, transport, and agriculture held in the Kremlin. He discussed with Stakhanovites in industry and transport, with harvester combine operators, tractor drivers, and recordbreakers in collective farm dairies and beet fields, the details of technique and production in all branches of the national economy.

Together with members of the Party Central Committee and the Government he received in the Kremlin many delegations from the thriving fraternal Socialist Republics. This was a vivid demonstration of the great friendship binding the peoples of the Soviet Union—the fruit of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin. In conjunction with leading industrial workers and collective farmers, Stalin and his colleagues worked out many a momentous decision on some of the most important questions of Socialist construction.

"Lenin taught us that only such leaders can be real Bolshevik leaders as know not only how to teach the workers and peasants but also how to learn from them," said Stalin at the conference of Stakhanovites. And, from the earliest days of his revolutionary career, he himself has always set an ideal example of such contact with the masses.

The Socialist reconstruction of the entire national economy brought about a radical change in the correlation of classes in the country. This called for changes in the Constitution which had been adopted in 1924; and proposals to this effect were made, on Stalin's initiative, by the Central Committee of the Party at the Seventh Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R.

A Constitution Commission, under Stalin's chairmanship, was set up to draft a new Constitution. This draft was thrown open for nation-wide discussion, which continued for five and a half months. There was not a corner in the country where this great historical document was not studied and discussed. The draft Constitution was received with acclamation and approbation by the whole Soviet people.

In his report at the Extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets, Stalin made a profound analysis of the draft of the new Constitution, bringing out the tremendous changes which had taken place in the country since the adoption of the Constitution of 1924. The victory of Socialism now made it possible to extend the democratic principles of the election system and to introduce universal, equal and direct suffrage with secret ballot.

All the main victories of Socialism are embodied in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. The Constitution states that Soviet society consists of two friendly classes—the workers and the peasants. The political foundation of the U.S.S.R. is the Soviets of Working People's Deputies. The economic foundation of the U.S.S.R. is the Socialist ownership of the means of production. All citizens of the U.S.S.R. are ensured the right to work, to rest and leisure, to education, to maintenance in old age or in case of illness or incapacitation. The equality of all citizens, irrespective of nationality, race or sex, is an indefeasible law. In the interests of the consolidation of Socialist society, the Constitution guarantees freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings, the right to unite in public organizations, inviolability of the person, and inviolability of homes and privacy of correspondence. The right of asylum is afforded to foreign citizens persecuted for defending the interests of the working people, or for their scientific activities, or for participation in the struggle for national emancipation. These great rights and liberties of the working people, unprecedented in history, are guaranteed materially and econom-

ically by the whole Socialist economic system, which knows no crises, anarchy or unemployment.

At the same time the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. imposes on all citizens serious obligations: to observe the laws, to maintain labour discipline, honestly to perform their public duties, to respect the rules of Socialist human intercourse, to cherish and safeguard Socialist property, and to defend the Socialist fatherland.

What the best and most progressive minds of humanity had dreamed of for hundreds of years has been made an indefeasible law by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.—the Constitution of Socialism victorious and of fully developed, Socialist democracy.

The new Constitution was approved and adopted by the Eighth Congress of Soviets, on December 5, 1936. It is unanimously called by the peoples of the U.S.S.R. after its author—Stalin. For the working people of the U.S.S.R. the Stalin Constitution is a summary and seal of their struggles and achievements; for the working people of the capitalist countries it is a great program of struggle. It is the endorsement of the historic fact that the U.S.S.R. has entered a new phase of development, the phase of the completion of the building of Socialist society and the gradual transition to Communism. It is a moral and political weapon in the hands of the working people of the world in their struggle against bourgeois reaction. It shows that what has been accomplished in the U.S.S.R. can be accomplished in other countries too.

Stalin's report on the draft Constitution is an invaluable contribution to the treasure-store of Marxism-Leninism; it ranks with the *Communist Manifesto* as one of the outstanding productions of Marxism.

The Socialist victories achieved by the Party under Stalin's leadership served still more to infuriate the enemies of the people. In 1937 new facts were brought to light regarding the fiendish crimes of the Trotsky-Bukharin gang of spies, wreckers and assassins, hirelings of the espionage services of capitalist states. The trials which followed showed that these dregs of humanity had been conspiring against Lenin, the Party and the Soviet state from the very first days of the October Revolution. At the bidding of their imperialist masters, they had made it their aim to destroy the Party and the Soviet state, to undermine the defence of the country, to facilitate foreign intervention, to pave the way for the defeat of the Red Army, to dismember the

U.S.S.R., to convert it into an imperialist colony and to restore capitalist slavery in the country. Led by Stalin, the Party and the Soviet authorities made short work of these pernicious enemies of the people. In his report on "Defects in Party Work," delivered at the Plenum of the Central Committee in March 1937, Stalin outlined a clear-cut program for reinforcing the Party and Soviet bodies, and for heightening political vigilance. He advanced the slogan: "Master Bolshevism!" He taught the Party how to combat the enemies of the people and to tear the masks from their faces.

The Soviet courts disclosed the crimes of the Trotsky-Bukharin fiends and sentenced them to be shot. The Soviet people approved the annihilation of the Trotsky-Bukharin gang and passed on to next business, which was to prepare for the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and to carry them out in an organized way.

Guided by the Central Committee and by Stalin, the Party threw all its energies into the preparations for the elections. The new Constitution signified a turn in the political life of the country, the further democratization of all its phases. The effect of the new electoral system was to enhance the political activity of the people, to strengthen the control of the masses over the organs of Soviet power, and to increase the responsibility of the latter to the people. In conformity with these new tasks, the Party, guided by the Central Committee and by Stalin, revised its methods of work, extending inner-Party democracy, strengthening the principles of democratic centralism, developing criticism and self-criticism, and increasing the responsibility of the Party bodies to the general membership. Stalin's idea of a Communist and non-Party bloc was taken as the keynote of the Party's election campaign.

On December 11, 1937, on the eve of the elections, Stalin addressed the voters of the district in which he had been nominated for election. In this speech, he pointed to the fundamental difference between elections in the U.S.S.R., which are free in every sense of the word, and elections in capitalist countries, where the people are subjected to the pressure of the exploiting classes. In the U.S.S.R. the exploiting classes had been eliminated, Socialism had become part of everyday life, and this was the basis on which the elections were taking place. Further, Stalin described the type of political figure the people should elect to

the Supreme Soviet. The people must demand that they should be political figures of the Lenin type, that they should be as clear and definite, as fearless in battle, as immune to panic, as merciless towards the enemies of the people as Lenin was; that they should be as wise and deliberate in deciding complex political problems requiring a comprehensive orientation and a comprehensive weighing of all pros and cons as Lenin was; that they should be as upright and honest as Lenin was; that they should love their people as Lenin did.

The whole country listened with bated breath to the broadcast speech of its great leader. His words sank deep into the minds of the working people. The speech defined the principles which should guide the activities of the deputies of the people; it fired the people with enthusiasm and helped still further to cement the Communist and non-Party bloc.

The elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., took place on December 12. They turned into a nation-wide holiday, a celebration of the triumph of the Soviet people. Of a total of 94,000,000 voters, over 91,000,000, or 96.8 per cent, went to the polls; 90,000,000 people voted for the Communist and non-Party bloc, thereby confirming the victory of Socialism. This was a resounding victory for the Stalin Communist and non-Party bloc, a triumph for the Party of Lenin and Stalin, and for its Leninist-Stalinist leadership.

The moral and political unity of the Soviet people was here brilliantly confirmed. And first among the elected of the people, first among the deputies to the Supreme Soviet, was Stalin.

In view of the tremendously increased activity of the masses, and the immense problems involved in the further advancement of Socialist construction, the question of the ideological and political training of forces acquired a new and enhanced significance.

In a number of his public utterances Stalin strongly stressed the necessity of mastering Bolshevism. He pointed out that all the necessary resources and opportunities were available to train the forces ideologically and to steel them politically, and that on this depended nine-tenths of the solution of all practical problems. A commission appointed by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.), working under Stalin's guidance, and with his active assistance, compiled the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)—Short Course*.

The publication of this book was a major event in the ideolo-

gical life of the Bolshevik Party. It supplied the Party with a new and powerful ideological weapon of Bolshevism, a veritable encyclopædia of fundamental knowledge in the sphere of Marxism-Leninism. With the lucidity and profundity characteristic of the Stalin style, this book provides an exposition and generalization of the vast historical experience of the Communist Party, unequalled by that of any other party in the world. The *History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)* shows the development of Marxism under the new conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat, the Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, of the era of the victory of Socialism in one-sixth of the world. The book had an enormous sale, millions of copies being bought up in a very short period. "It may be quite definitely asserted," said Zhdanov at the Eighteenth Congress of the Party, "that this is the first Marxist book to have been disseminated so widely ever since Marxism has been in existence."

The chapter on "Dialectical and Historical Materialism" which Stalin wrote for the *History* is a masterly statement of the principles of dialectical and historical materialism, expounded with the utmost conciseness and lucidity. Here Stalin gives a general account of all that has been contributed to dialectics by Marx, Engels and Lenin, and further develops the doctrine of dialectical and historical materialism in conformity with the latest facts of science and revolutionary practice.

He explains dialectical materialism as the theoretical foundation of Communism, as the world outlook of the Marxist-Leninist Party, as the ideological weapon of the working class in its struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and to build up Communism. This work convincingly shows the underlying connection between the Marxist-Leninist philosophy and the practical revolutionary activities of the Bolshevik Party. In order to avoid mistakes in policy, Stalin teaches, we must be guided by the principles of the Marxist dialectical method and must know the laws of historical development.

Stalin's "Dialectical and Historical Materialism," written by an incomparable master of the Marxist dialectical method, and generalizing the vast practical and theoretical experience of Bolshevism, *raises dialectical materialism to a new and higher level, and is one of the pinnacles of Marxist-Leninist philosophical thought.*

In March 1939 met the Eighteenth Congress of the Party, whose labours were guided by Stalin. This Congress was an imposing

demonstration of the solidarity of the Party, monolithic and united as never before around the Leninist-Stalinist Central Committee.

In his report on behalf of the Central Committee, Stalin gave a profound analysis of the international position of the Soviet Union and exposed the schemes of the instigators of war and intervention against the U.S.S.R. Five years had elapsed since the Seventeenth Party Congress. For the capitalist countries this had been a period of great upheavals both in the economic and the political sphere. The economic crisis of 1929-32 and the depression of a special kind had been followed, in the second quarter of 1937, by a new economic crisis, involving the U.S.A., England, France and a number of other capitalist countries. The international situation had grown acute in the extreme, the post-war system of peace treaties had suffered shipwreck, and a new, the second, imperialist war had begun. It was with the penetration of true genius that Stalin exposed the machinations of the warmongers, and defined with the utmost clarity the Party's principles in the sphere of foreign policy in that complex international situation. He said:

"The tasks of the Party in the sphere of foreign policy are:

"1. To continue the policy of peace and of strengthening business relations with all countries;

"2. To be cautious and not allow our country to be drawn into conflicts by warmongers who are accustomed to have others pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them;

"3. To strengthen the might of our Red Army and Red Navy to the utmost;

"4. To strengthen the international bonds of friendship with the working people of all countries, who are interested in peace and friendship among nations." (*Problems of Leninism*, p. 630.)

After describing the achievements of Socialism, the progress of Socialist economy, the rising material and cultural standards of the people, and the increasing consolidation of the Soviet system, Stalin put before the Party and the whole Soviet people a new and great historic task, namely, to overtake and outstrip the principal capitalist countries economically, *i.e.*, in the output of commodities per head of population, in the next ten or fifteen years.

"We have outstripped the principal capitalist countries," he said, "as regards technique of production and rate of industrial development. That is very good, but it is not enough. We must outstrip them economically as well. We can do it, and we must

do it. Only if we outstrip the principal capitalist countries economically can we reckon upon our country being fully saturated with consumers' goods, on having an abundance of products, and on being able to make the transition from the first phase of Communism to its second phase." (*Ibid.*, p. 634.)

Stalin outlined a complete scientifically-grounded Bolshevik program for the training, education, selection, promotion and testing of personnel, as one of the most important tasks of the Party.

Reviewing the ground covered by the Party in the interval between the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Congresses, he said:

"The chief conclusion to be drawn is that the working class of our country, having abolished the exploitation of man by man and firmly established the Socialist system, has proved to the world the truth of its cause. That is the chief conclusion, for it strengthens our faith in the power of the working class and in the inevitability of its ultimate victory." (*Ibid.*, p. 666.)

Stalin's report to the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.) is a programmatic document of Communism, a new step in the development of Marxist-Leninist theory. Stalin carried Lenin's theory of the Socialist revolution a stage further. He extended the doctrine of the possibility of building Socialism in one country and developed it into the *doctrine of the possibility of building Communism in the Soviet Union, even if it continued to be surrounded by a capitalist world*. This conclusion is one of the outstanding discoveries of Marxist-Leninist theory, equal in significance to Lenin's discovery of the possibility of the victory of Socialism in one country. It enriches Leninism, arms the working class with a new ideological weapon, opens up to the Party the majestic prospect of a struggle for the victory of Communism, and advances the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin wrote his famous work *The State and Revolution* in August 1917, i.e., a few months prior to the October Revolution and the establishment of the Soviet state. In this book, Lenin defended Marx's and Engels' theory of the state against the distortions and vulgarizations of the opportunists. It was Lenin's intention to add a second part to *The State and Revolution*, in which would be summed up the experience of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917. Death, however, prevented Lenin from accomplishing his design.

Comrade Stalin, drawing on the vast experience accumulated during the more than twenty years the Soviet Socialist state had

existed in the midst of a capitalist world, developed an *integral and complete theory of the Socialist state*. He made a detailed analysis of the stages of development of the Socialist state and of the way its functions had changed with the changes in the situation; he gave a general review of the experience accumulated in the building of the Soviet state, and arrived at the conclusion that the state would have to be preserved under Communism if the capitalist encirclement persisted.

That which Lenin had not lived to do in development of the theory of the state and the dictatorship of the working class, was done by Stalin.

Stalin's report to the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.) was a program for the completion of the building of classless Socialist society and for the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism. The Congress unanimously endorsed the report of the Party leader as an instruction and a law to the Party in all its activities.

The report was a brilliant example of scientific, Marxist-Leninist foresight in the sphere of international relations. Stalin's wise statement of the aims of Soviet foreign policy, and his skill in leadership, have resulted in important successes for Soviet foreign policy and have enhanced the prestige of the Soviet Union as a serious international force, able to influence the international situation and to modify it in the interests of the working people. Guided by Stalin's recommendations, the Soviet Government thwarted the perfidious schemes of the instigators of war who are keen on having other people pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them, and safeguarded the peaceful labour of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. The mutual assistance pacts concluded by the Soviet Union with the Baltic States immeasurably strengthened the defensive might of the land of Socialism and its international position.

Under the leadership of Stalin, the Soviet Union delivered its kindred peoples in the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia from the yoke of the Polish landlords and capitalists. These peoples have now joined the single family of free and happy peoples of the U.S.S.R.

One cannot speak of Stalin without mentioning his influence on the international working-class movement. The Communist International has grown and developed under the guidance of the great leaders, Lenin and Stalin. Just as the history of the First

International is inseparably associated with the names of Marx and Engels, so will the history of the Third, Communist International forever be linked with the names of Lenin and Stalin. It was they who laid the foundations of the Communist International and led it in the first turbulent post-war years. It was Stalin who defended the Communist International against the attacks of all enemies of Leninism.

The workers in the capitalist countries look upon Stalin as their leader, as the man who is wisely steering the great ship of Socialism in the interests of the emancipation of the workers and of all working people all over the world. Millions of workers look upon him as their teacher, from whose classic writings they learn how to cope with the class enemy and how to pave the way for the ultimate victory of the proletariat. Stalin's influence is the influence of the great and glorious Bolshevik Party, which workers in the capitalist countries look to as a model to follow, a model of what a working-class party should be. It was under the leadership of this Party, a party of a *new type*, that capitalism was overthrown and the dictatorship of the proletariat established; and it was under the leadership of this Party that Socialism was built up in the U.S.S.R. Let Messieurs the reactionaries try to kill the workers' desire to follow in the footsteps of such a party!

The workers of all countries know that every word pronounced by Stalin is the word of a nation of a hundred and eighty-three millions; that his every word is followed by action, and that the sum total of these actions is changing the relation of forces between the world of Labour and the world of Capital in the international arena. Stalin's influence is due to the fact that the correctness of the aims he sets has been confirmed in the eyes of the labouring masses of the world by the historic experience of the victorious Socialist revolution.

* * *

Stalin's life and career are inseparably bound up with the career of Lenin and the history of the heroic Bolshevik Party. His iron will and revolutionary energy were conspicuously displayed in the grim years when the revolutionary movement was driven underground, in the fight for the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in the Civil War, in the struggle against the enemies of the people, the enemies of Socialism, and

in the fight for the building and consolidation of the Socialist society.

Stalin is the brilliant leader and teacher of the Party, the great strategist of the Socialist revolution. Implacable hostility to the enemies of Socialism, profound fidelity to principle, a combination of clear revolutionary perspective and clarity of purpose with extraordinary firmness and persistence in the pursuit of aims, wise and practical leadership, and intimate contact with the masses—such are the characteristic features of Stalin's style. No other leader in the world has been called upon to direct such vast masses of workers and peasants. He has a unique faculty for generalizing the revolutionary experience of the masses, for seizing upon and developing their initiative, for learning from the masses as well as teaching them, and for leading them forward to victory.

Stalin's whole career is an example of profound theoretical powers combined with an unusual breadth and versatility of practical experience in the revolutionary struggle.

In conjunction with his immediate associates—Molotov, Voroshilov, Kaganovich, Kalinin, Mikoyan, Andreyev, Zhdanov, Khrushchov, Beria, Shvernik and other tried Leninists—and at the head of the great Bolshevik Party, Stalin is guiding the destinies of a multi-national Socialist workers' and peasants' state of which there is no precedent in history. His advice is taken as a guide to action in all fields of Socialist construction. His work is extraordinary for its variety; his energy truly amazing. The questions which engage his attention range from complex problems of Marxist-Leninist theory to school textbooks; from problems of Soviet foreign policy to the municipal affairs of Moscow, the proletarian capital; from the development of the Great Northern Sea Route to the reclamation of the Colchian marshes; from the development of Soviet literature and art to the editing of the Rules for Collective Farms.

Everybody is familiar with the cogent and invincible force of Stalin's logic, the crystal clarity of his mind, his iron will, his devotion to the Party, his ardent faith in the masses, and his love for the people. Everybody is familiar with his modesty, his simplicity of manner, his consideration for people, and his merciless severity towards enemies of the people. Everybody is familiar with his intolerance of ostentation, of phrasemongers and windbags, of whiners and alarmists. Stalin is wise and de-

liberate in solving complex political questions where a thorough weighing of pros and cons is required. At the same time, he is a supreme master of bold revolutionary decisions and sharp turns of policy.

Stalin is the Lenin of today.

Replying to the congratulations of public bodies and individuals on his fiftieth birthday, in 1929, Stalin wrote: "I set down your congratulations and greetings as addressed to the great Party of the working class, which begot me and reared me in its own image. . . . You need have no doubt, comrades, that I am prepared in the future, too, to devote to the cause of the working class, to the cause of the proletarian revolution and world Communism, all my strength, all my faculties, and, if need be, all my blood, to the very last drop."

In the eyes of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., Stalin is the incarnation of their heroism, their love of their country, their patriotism. "For Stalin! For our country!"—it was with this cry that the valiant Red Army routed the enemy and planted the Soviet flag on the heights at Lake Hassan.

In the eyes of the peoples of the Soviet Union Stalin is the embodiment of their hopes and aspirations, the embodiment of their victories. "For Stalin! For the Stalin Constitution!" was the cry with which the heroes of the Red Army launched into the fray against the violators of the Soviet Far Eastern frontier.

Stalin's name is an emblem of liberation. "For Stalin!" was the watchword with which the men of the Red Army advanced irresistibly to deliver their brother Byelorussians and Ukrainians from the yoke of the Polish gentry.

Stalin's name is a symbol of the courage, of the renown of the Soviet people, and a call to fresh deeds in exaltation of the Soviet people. It was with the name of Stalin on their lips that Papanin and his comrades accomplished their historic feat in the Arctic. It is with the image of Stalin in their hearts that the Stakhanovites, men and women, are breaking, world records of labour productivity, and accelerating the country's advance to the bright pinnacles of Communism. It is with the thought of Stalin to inspire them that collective farmers, men and women, are striving for the honour of being represented at the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition, and are working for that complete abundance of products which is the hallmark of Communist society. It is with the name of Stalin to inspire them that the heroic

Soviet airmen, Stalin's falcons, as the people affectionately call them, are flying ever higher, faster and farther.

Stalin's name is cherished by the boys and girls of the Socialist land, the Young Pioneers. Their dearest ambition is to be like Lenin and Stalin, to be political figures of the Lenin and Stalin type. At the call of the Party and Stalin, the youth of the Soviet Union have erected giant Socialist industries, have reared cities in the taiga, have built wonderful ships, are conquering the Arctic, are mastering modern technique in industry and agriculture, are strengthening the defences of the country, and are doing creative work in the sciences and arts. Fostered by Lenin and Stalin, the Young Communist League is a true aid of the Bolshevik Party, a reliable successor to the older generation of fighters for Communism.

In all their many languages the peoples of the Soviet Union compose songs to Stalin, expressing their boundless devotion for their great leader, teacher and friend.

In the arts of the people, Stalin's name is ever linked with Lenin's. "We go with Stalin as with Lenin, we talk to Stalin as to Lenin; he knows all our inmost thoughts; all his life he has cared for us," runs one of the many Russian folk tales of today.

The name of Stalin is a symbol of the moral and political unity of Soviet society.

"The names of Lenin and Stalin inspire bright hopes in every corner of the earth and are a clarion call to the fight for peace, for the happiness of nations, and for complete emancipation from capitalism." (*Molotov.*)

Socialism has triumphed in the U.S.S.R. and is winning victory after victory because the work and efforts of the country are guided by Lenin's true successor, the greatest man of today—Joseph Stalin.

The unanimous thought and heartfelt wish of the working people of the Soviet Union and of the whole world is:

Long life and health to our great and dear Stalin!

Long live the great and invincible banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

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